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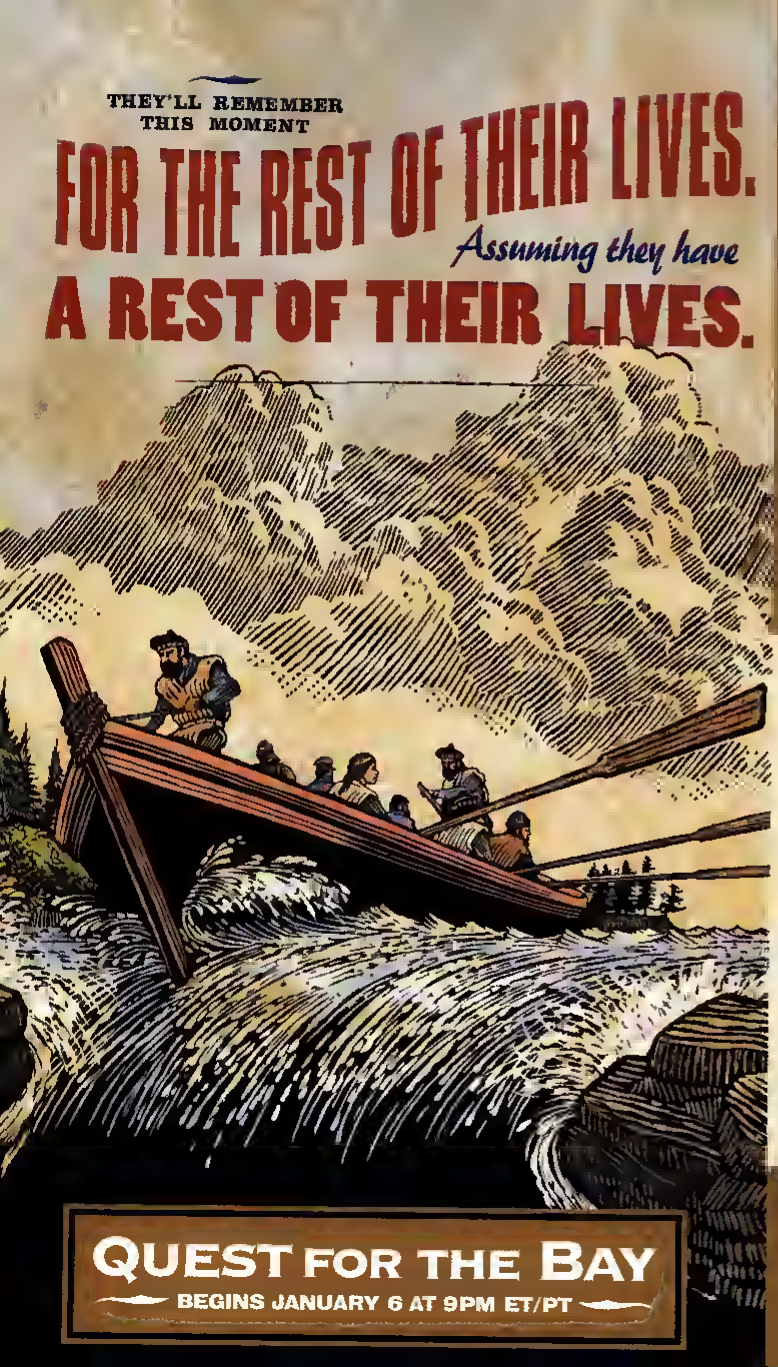
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Maclean's This Week

Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine www.macleans.ca December 31, 2001/January 7, 2002 Vol 114 No 53



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PAGE 58

It was the year everything changed. Sept. 11, Anthrax, Canada at war. Was there life beyond all this anguish? Stockwell Day thought so. So did all the kids who flocked to see *Harry Potter*. But we lost some great ones: Mordecai Richler, George Harrison and many more.

Cover photography by Tom Feller for Maclean's. Photo credits this page, see pages 58 to 77

22 COVER

Scary new world Our 18th annual year-end poll finds Canadians more security conscious. We fully support the U.S. war on terrorism and want to spend more on our military, but we still see ourselves as peacekeepers


Tom Feller for Maclean's

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ROGERS MEDIA

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From the

Editor

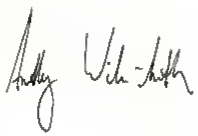
Ralph Klein, the morning after

In my days in the Ottawa press gallery, what I liked best about travelling with politicians was the chance to see them in an informal manner not possible at home. During a trade trip to southeast Asia in January, 1996, I was walking through the lobby of Islamabad's Marriott Hotel one night when a gruff voice called my name: it was Jean Chrétien, having coffee with a bodyguard. We spent close to an hour swapping stories about everything from the trip at hand to the Ottawa Senators to mutual acquaintances in Quebec. Later that night, I bumped into Mike Harris we had a beer and talked federal politics. In a jazz bar in Shanghai in 1994, I listened to Roy Romanow dissect Quebec's constitutional wars, while Bob Rae played piano and other premiers serenaded Manitoba's Gary Filmon and his wife, Janice, on their anniversary. Similarly, en route to Africa in 1991, Brian Mulroney settled alongside somewhere over the Atlantic, and gave a spontaneous analysis of which MPs were the best House of Commons performers.

Any one of those exchanges revealed more about the character of the politician involved than a hundred prepared speeches. Most politicians, once they're confident that every word won't be parsed for hidden meaning or taken out of context, loosen up and become infinitely more human. The exception, in a nice way, is Ralph Klein. the public and private man are fully in sync. I had coffee with him one morning last May in his office in the Alberta legislative building in Edmonton, and he was as friendly and straightforward as he is on public occasions with voters, and as he has always been over late-night drinks with journalists.

That's why, in some ways, it was surprising to hear Klein own up to an alcohol problem—even though his fondness for a drink has been part of his image and the source of jokes, including his own, for years. Klein always seems easy in his skin, which is why people like him. But it's also why it's harder to pinpoint when and why things got away from him. It's more understandable when you add him to a long list of public figures burdened with the challenge of living up to their reputation. You see that with, say, NHL tough guys who can't enter a bar without some loudmouth wanting to take them on, or fashionistas who won't even go grocery shopping unless perfectly groomed. In Klein's case, there was always a drink, or someone wanting him to have one, at every stop. And, as premier, there are a lot of public stops.

Overall, when it comes to politicians, I'm in the same camp as Toronto author-broadcaster Steve Paikin, who confesses in his new book *The Life: The Seductive Call of Politics* to liking the "vast majority" of those he knows. Given the demands on their time, the periods away from their families when legislatures are in session, and the relentless scrutiny and frequent hostility they face, the wonder may be that more politicians don't seek solace in a bottle. As they rise higher, to cabinet positions or a first minister's office, the pressures simply get more intense. By acknowledging his problem publicly, Klein faced his demon in a way that deserved and received near-unanimous praise. And he shifted expectations so that, in future, the *last* thing anyone should want to do is buy him a drink. Good on you, Ralph! may the pride you feel this New Year's Eve be all the buzz you need.



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The Mail

Different kinds of faith

Thank you for taking the risk of showing us another face of the tragedy of Sept. 11 ("Faith under fire," Cover, Dec. 17). Indeed, light can come out of the dark—if we listen to the terror and pain of much of the world that is caused by our rapacious habits. If, out of our pain, we all realize that what we give we receive, tenfold, then perhaps we will stop inflicting pain on others.
Joanna Wilkinson, Victoria



"Faith under fire"? I should hope so. It is faith, in all its absurd and diabolical forms, that is almost entirely responsible for the mess we are currently in. Not to mention all the messes we've been in almost continuously for the past few thousand years. Until human beings can get beyond the need for higher beings to adulate, grovel to, pretend to represent and, most damaging, turn to for forgiveness, the messes will never, ever come to an end.
Paul Mason, North Vancouver

You seem to assume that faith is an issue, rather than institutions and churches. Faith is just what one believes, or what is within their soul, spirit and sense of belonging. May I suggest people read our own Jean Vanier's book *Becoming Human*. It may give them some insight into faith and the real human condition, and not the perceptions they reflect, but the reality of human faith constantly under fire. The human condition, including faith, remains stronger and clearer for millions around the world since the events of Sept. 11 and the many terrible world events before and since then.
Marten A. Mol, Aurora, Ont.

I wish Ron Graham's otherwise fine article ("Death's gift to life") had not included the statement "We've even resumed bombing innocent civilians in far-off places." Canada is doing no such thing. The Americans aren't either. They are bombing those whom they conceive of as a powerful enemy in retaliation for the enemy's horrible bombing of them and in the hope of capturing those responsible. It may be they are recklessly indifferent to the collateral damage of civilian injury and death. But they do not in any way intend that injury and death. It would be helpful if Graham, with his considerable talents, would address the questions: in view of the carnage of Sept. 11, what does justice demand and how does the state secure protection of its people in this time of such terror?
William O. Fennell, Toronto

"Death's gift to life" did a good job of naming death as one of our greatest fears in Western society. As someone who has worked in hospital chaplaincy, I would go further to say our biggest fear is not just the general fear of non-being, but fear of a messy or untimely death. This has to do with the loss of control such a death entails in a society where we are taught to assert our individuality and be a take-charge kind of person. Part of the terror that was inflicted upon our North American consumer culture by the events of Sept. 11 was the fear, and the realization, that death may not be as well-planned as our investment portfolio, our Christmas wish list or a trip to the shopping mall.
Steve Bares, Vernon, B.C.

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Love-ins for all

We seem to be so anxious to help the richest country and richest city in the world with love-ins ("A New York love-in," Canada and the World, Dec. 17). So when do we start having love-ins for the Canadians who have suffered from Sept. 11, or the women and children of Afghanistan?
John Symons, Guelph, Ont.

Is religious schooling folly?

Your editorial "Faith for ever after—or no more" (Dec. 17) correctly identifies both the problem facing our multicultural society, the inculcation of respect and tolerance for those of differing faiths and customs, and a surefire method of solving the problem, mandatory secular schooling. The education of our young in secular schools would provide the benefits of intermingling, building respect and tolerance. This cannot take place in the isolation of sectarian schools. To perpetuate, as we do through the public funding of religious schools, the divisiveness of religious-based education is pure folly, hypocritical and, in light of recent events, unconscionable. If tolerance and respect are fundamental aims in our society, such an important task simply cannot be left to hit-or-miss participation in sports.
Jim Wood, Bracebridge, Ont.

Trying to live together

A suicide bomber murders more than two dozen civilians—Palestinians dance in celebration; Israel responds with heavy curfews ("Declaration of war," Canada and the World, Dec. 17). The Palestinians (and our beloved Canadian government) yell "Foul!" A terrorist from the West Bank enters Israel on a work permit. Israel responds by restricting access to Palestinian workers, aggravating their grinding poverty. The Palestinians (and our honest-broker Canadian government) yell "Foul!" Hamas leaders train and encourage children to hate Jews and to kill them. Israel responds with assassinations of those leaders. Palestinians (and our evenhanded Canadian government) yell "Foul!" What is wrong with these pictures? The plight of the Palestinians is terrible, but as long as they and their leaders see the solutions to their problems in terms of the existence of

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a Jewish state, and as long as wishy-washy governments like our own give credence to those misguided beliefs by condemning Israel for not exercising restraint, there can never be a resolution to the problem
Gary Averbach, Vancouver

Although admittedly many criticisms of Israel's abuse of Palestinians are base—products of naught but anti-Semitism—the fact remains: blaming Palestinians and dismissing their independence aspirations as terrorism is not only counterproductive politically, and emotionally charged rhetoric, but it is also hypocritical. There are extremist Israeli Jews alive today who have in the past used anti-Arab terrorism to create and solidify the Jewish state. Having said that, however, efforts must be made by peace-loving Palestinians and Israelis to avoid as much gratuitous violence and suffering as possible—and on a ceaseless basis. Tit-for-tat atrocities committed by Israeli and Palestinian extremists are constructive only to those demagogues who harbour hatred for those posing any resistance to their ideological and/or political goals.
Frank G. Steria Jr., White Rock, B.C.

The meaning of evil

Reading about the tragic story of the swarming of Nicholas Chow Johnson ("Victoria rocked by latest brutal beating at hands of teens," The Week That Was, Dec. 17), I feel so sorry for him and his family, and I feel ashamed that this horrible thing happened again in Canada. I hope some of the federal money for protection against terrorism will go towards freedom from terrorist gangs. After Sept. 11, many wondered why it happened. I think we, as a society, should ask why our youth join such evil gangs. Is it lack of meaning, is it lack of good ideals, is it lack of feelings for other people? We need to show how evil racism, sexism and plain selfishness can make us become.
Rev. Bruce Small, St. Catharines, Ont.

Total globalization

In "Defence is no joking matter," Peter C. Newman confuses the role of peacekeeping (Dec. 17). We do not need war to eliminate terrorism. We need effective law and police enforcement on a global basis, as recommended by the world federalist


Ammar Awad/Reuters

Israeli soldier and a boy in the West Bank

movement for many decades—world peace through world law. The U.S. is the present enforcer because United Nations member countries limit the UN budget to less than that of the New York City police department. We have not learned the lessons of history, having lost 50 million lives in the Second World War. We may lose millions more unless we globalize law and our security. Surely we have learned that globalization of trade is not enough.
Ross Smyth, Montreal

Peter C. Newman describes Canada's defence policy and the place and state of the Canadian Forces to a T. He is so right.
S.A. Friedman, Montreal

'One of the world's finest'

It disturbed me that four of the five letters in the Dec. 10 issue ("Getting their man") commenting on the "Undercover Mountie" article (Cover, Nov. 26) came to the conclusion the RCMP is an incompetent organization. How can one pass this judgment on the basis of one article? It would be prudent to first gather all the facts of this case before writing off the RCMP. I don't believe it is any more inefficient, incompetent or corrupt than any other large organization, public or private, in this country. Were the federal government to cut RCMP funding and leave us with only provincial and municipal law-enforcement agencies, I'm sure the letter writers above would be the first to raise a hue and cry. As a citizen and taxpayer, my experiences with the RCMP have always been very positive. I still believe the RCMP is one of the world's finest police forces.
Robin Bunz, Dalmeny, Sask.

Monetary policy

Donald Coxe's "thousand years of price records" are irrelevant for predicting whether we are on the verge of deflation ("Why prices are falling," Dec. 17). Central bank monetary policy has existed only for the past hundred years or so. Coxe acknowledges American economist Milton Friedman's conclusion that "inflation is a monetary phenomenon," but ignores Friedman's point. High inflation and deflation are outcomes of bad monetary policy. Coxe's prediction depends on other central banks being as incompetent as the Bank of Japan. Fortunately, there is no sign that the Bank of Canada or other central banks are on this road to ruin.
A.A. Sayeed, Toronto

Libraries and the Internet

I am puzzled by Sue Beugin's views on your rankings of Canadian university libraries ("University issues," The Mail, Dec. 3). Just because an information resource is electronic doesn't make it free, and most universities in North America must now devote substantial portions of their materials budgets to those resources. Those that are free are often of limited use in postsecondary education, because they lack breadth or depth, or suffer from low-quality, even egregiously inaccurate content. The bigger the library and its budget, the more and better information in all forms to which its patrons have access—a truism even in consortial arrangements where costs for some of the most widely needed titles are distributed. And the more staff a library has, the more it may devote them to the still-complex tasks of selecting, acquiring and cataloguing appropriate resources (electronic or otherwise), making them optimally accessible to the institution's entire constituency. One may have access to all the electronic indexes available in a given discipline, but if they don't point to something that's accessible locally (often still just in hard copy, and sitting on a dusty shelf), the playing field has hardly been levelled to the extent Beugin asserts.
Neil R. Hughes, Head, Music Cataloguing, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga.



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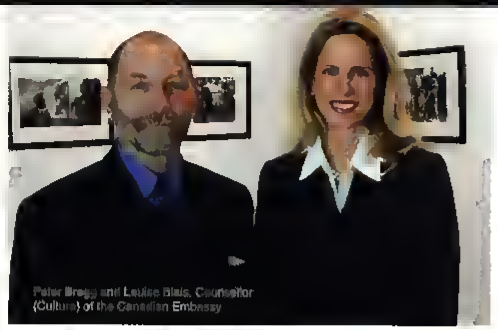
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Trudeau Remembered South of the Border



Peter Bregg and Louise Blais, Counsellor (Culture) of the Canadian Embassy

Diana Bregg

Maclean's Chief Photographer Peter Bregg began photographing our most flamboyant prime minister back when Trudeaumania was at its peak. Over the years, he's shot some of the most compelling Trudeau images ever captured.

Many of these are featured in Trudeau Remembered, an exhibition on now through Jan. 11 at the Canadian Embassy Art Gallery in Washington, D.C. Following the embassy show, the photographs will be on display between Jan. 28 and Feb. 1 at the Organization of American States, also located in Washington.

Visitors to the show have been very enthusiastic. "In these photos I see that Trudeau was not so much shaping his own persona, but Canada's ... I was wowed," Dr. Michael Vlahos, consultant for the Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory, wrote in the embassy gallery's guestbook. "Trudeaus affection for and trust of Bregg are also obvious: there are no guarded poses there," added branding consultant Neril Archer Roan.

If you're in the area and want to judge for yourself, call the embassy at **(202) 682-7727** or visit their Web site at **www.canadianembassy.org** for hours and directions. You can reach the Permanent Mission of Canada to the Organization of American States at **(202) 682-1768, ext. 7271**, or on the Web at **www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/oas/**. To learn more about the organization and its mandates, visit **www.oas.org**.

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Overture

Edited by Shanda Deziel *with Amy Cameron*

Over and Under Achievers

A political year

Jean Chrétien: Just where he likes to be, in a holding pattern. PM for as long as he likes—but why?



Ralph Klein: Painful public confession can only be good politics. Even better, it looked uncontrived.



Stockwell Day: Solid post-Sept. 11 showing can't erase a catastrophic year. Comeback? Come on.

Stephen Harper: Launched leadership bid with awful Ground Zero joke. All ideology, no instincts.

Grant Hill: Stolid doc a dullish candidate but Alliance has had enough of interesting times.

Adrienne Clarkson: Self-satisfied GG mildly annoying, but she's not boring—a rarity in Chrétien's capital.



Paul Martin: Budget 2001 shifts image from frugal to free-spending without framing a new message.

Brian Tobin: No money from Martin's budget—and no sign his leadership organization is getting traction.

Overbites

"I mean, I could hide a mushroom. I mean, you know, I don't eat mushrooms, but I would know enough to you know not have them in my bag."
—Former prime minister **Kim Campbell** on the arrest of *West Wing* creator **Aaron Sorkin** for possession of hallucinogenic mushrooms

"We are not for sale. Quebec has no intention of selling ourselves on the street for bits of red rag."
—**Bernard Landry** (then deputy premier of Quebec) says Quebec won't fly the Canadian flag in exchange for federal funding.



"What the hell do I want to go to a place like Mombasa? Snakes just scare the hell out of me. I just see myself in a pot of boiling water with all these natives dancing around me."
—Toronto Mayor **Mel Lastman,** joking about his African travels in the midst of pushing Toronto's bid for the 2008 Olympics.



"Today in the world the United States is the most dangerous and the most powerful global force unleashing horrific levels of violence. From Chile to El Salvador to Nicaragua to Iraq, the path of U.S. foreign policy is soaked in blood."
—**Suaera Thobani,** a University of British Columbia professor, speaks in Ottawa at a Women's Resistance conference just three weeks after Sept. 11.

People Predictions

What 2002 holds for...

- **Nelly Furtado** tries her hand at acting—starring in *I'm Like a Bird*, the bio-pic of a chambermaid who's discovered, tops the charts, has a breakdown, makes her comeback, blah...blah, blah.
- **Conrad Black** renounces maple syrup, back bacon and curling.



- **Reneé Angélil Jr., Eja Twain** and an as-yet-unnamed **McLachlan** form first-ever toddler supergroup, Les enfants terribles, and hold chanty concert, "Babies Ban Bombs." Mothers Celine, Shania and Sarah sing backup.
- **Naomi Klein** appears in a Gap ad—says gap is only a word.
- Bespectacled TV broadcaster **Ashleigh Banfield** gets laser eye surgery, ratings plummet.



Facts and Stats

Another year, another mass of statistics about Canadians. Here are some tantalizing tidbits.

- **Less TV, more porn, please**—On the whole, Canadians watched less TV and spent more time on the Internet. And Canucks were No. 1 in the world for online porn surfing.
- **Alien invasions**—B.C. and the Yukon recorded the most UFO sightings in the country. But Winnipeg and Calgary were crowned the top two Slurpee-consuming cities in the world.



- **A fine romance**—Naive romantic Charlotte was the Sex *and the City* character Canadian women identified with the most. Meanwhile, an other poll found Canadian women acting in a very conservative Charlotte-like manner are more apt to set up colleagues with friends than date or flirt at work.



In 2001, the Overture pages amused—and angered—our readers. Here's how you saw us:
Most subscriptions cancelled over a single item: the audition call for *Puppetry of the Penis*, a genital origami show. **Biggest oops:** while slagging Steve Martin we said his play *Picasso at the Lapin Agile* involved a meeting between Picasso and Freud. We meant Picasso and Einstein. **Biggest debate:** should toilet paper hang over or under the roll. **Most positive feedback:** personal stories in the Over to You section, including Ali Hassaini, an Arab-American working out his feelings after Sept. 11.

First column (from top): Jon Hanson/CP, Walter Tychnowicz/Edmonton Sun, Fred Chartrand/CP, Puppetry of the Penis. Second column: Jacques Boissinot/CP, Frank Gunn/CP. Third column: Reen Smith/The Daily Telegraph, Laurent Cayla/AP. Fourth column: Peter Bregg/Maclean's.

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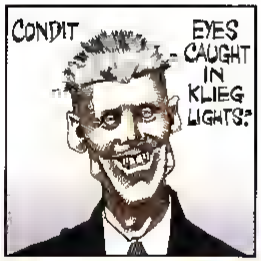
WORLD CONFERENCE ON RACISM
In Durban, a final tumultuous resolution is passed: All people richer than the delegates are racist.

MAYORALTY RACE
Six people you've never heard of staged a final burst of politicking for tomorrow's New York City primary to replace Mayor Rudy Giuliani.



BUSINESS
The latest surge in unemployment has us wondering: Is a crash imminent?

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AGREE (a) (b) (c) (d) (e) STRONGLY AGREE

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Over to You SHARON BOGLARI

Signed, sealed, delivered



Bronson and I met over coffee-stained foolscap pages. We courted to the tap dance of typewriter keys and sealed our love with the sticky taste of envelopes and stamps. Our first letters to each other were part of a Grade 12 assignment in Durban, South Africa, where we grew up. The English teacher at my girls-only school started a pen pal project with one of the boys' schools across the city. My teacher randomly handed me Bronson's letter—and transformed my life forever. In his first letter, Bronson introduced himself as a "basically crazy kind of person." His was an independent, social lifestyle. I, on the other hand, led a sheltered, studious existence. As teenagers, it seemed that our differences were insurmountable, and I struggled with the temptation to make myself sound more interesting to him so that he would want to continue writing to me. But in the end, I summoned my courage and wrote a letter outlining my real dreams and goals. He wrote back.

The rest of our classmates gave up their correspondence once the project ended and we had graduated. But by the time Bronson and I had written our final exams 10 months later, we were hooked on each other's words. Although he moved to Swaziland, a small kingdom bordering South Africa, and was physically far away, our letters made us closer and he became my best friend. When I was a child, penciled annotations on the kitchen door measured my growth. Now, our letters became my yardstick—I plotted my path from schoolgirl to university student and later to career woman by what we wrote in those letters.

The act of writing allowed us to look at our lives through someone else's eyes. It forced us to examine what we believed in and where our lives were going. Committing our fears and joys on paper to someone we had never seen was strangely less intimidating than confiding them to our school friends, possibly because our paper conversations could be so carefully crafted. Writing letters to each other was also a somewhat selfish exercise. While I looked forward to hearing what was going on in Bronson's life, I also eagerly anticipated his responses and insights into what I had written him.

Four years later, we knew everything about each other. Everything that is, but the pitch of the voice reading one another's letters aloud, the line of the fingers clutching a pen, and the furrow of the brow pondering a word. On the day we arranged to meet face-to-face for the first time, I found myself riveted to his hands—the only part of his body that I could associate with the act of letter writing. We sat together through syncopated silences while I plucked up the courage to utter in speech the ideas I had written on paper. Writing had provided me the luxury of safely shaping my intimate thoughts, and I felt less secure seeing them float out into the air to be trapped or misconstrued in speech. Although we started to meet regularly whenever Bronson made the five-hour car journey from Swaziland to Durban, we never abandoned our pens. Our letters during those brief months completed the gaps in our conversations and gave a voice to tongue-tied thoughts.

Shortly afterward, like many of our generation, Bronson left South Africa to see the world and postage began to cost a little more. My mirror displayed a collage of postcards of flame-coloured forests and silent fields of snow, all decorated with maple leaf stamps. I began to read between the lines of his letters about life in Canada and realized that the year-round sun would not entice him back to live in South Africa. He had found a new home, and our chances of seeing each other again were slim. Phone calls became expensive and were complicated by time zones. Mail took longer, but our letters assumed the character of an extended conversation. We learned to suspend the time—using it to read and re-read letters, reflect on their meaning, and craft responses.

The landscape wasn't the only thing to change. Bronson's pen and paper gave way to a tired old typewriter. His letters were no longer coffee-stained, but I could still smell the cigarette ash. Technology caught up with me, and my girlish scrawl evolved into crisp laser-printed pages. We flirted with e-mail but both preferred finding beaten-up envelopes with exotic stamps in our mailboxes to the sterility of the Internet.

For seven years, our relationship remained platonic—we were too fearful of losing the precious friendship we had to commit any deeper feeling to paper, and ours was, after all, a relationship of paper, not speech. Seven years almost exactly to the day since writing his first letter to me in school, Bronson decided to put down his pen forever. On a visit to South Africa after a three-year absence, while standing on a beach with the Indian Ocean licking our toes, he asked me if I would start a life with him in Canada. That night, I, too, wrote my last letter to him. It was scrawled with a stick in the damp sand. It read, "Yes!" m

Sharon Boglari, now of Vancouver, has been happily married for five years

Illustration for Maclean's by John Lemay

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The Week That Was



A sober Klein vows to change his ways 'one day at a time'

"I think I have the ability to fight this devil and win" So said Ralph Klein, during an emotional news conference at which the Alberta premier acknowledged a 30-year problem with alcohol Klein's admission came on the heels of an impromptu and widely publicized early-morning hours visit on Dec. 12 to an Edmonton men's hostel, during which he berated people in the lobby Klein immediately tried to explain his outburst by saying he had consumed "some drinks" at a dinner party that night. But at a Dec 18 news conference, he went further, tearfully telling reporters he had a drinking problem that had interfered with his ability to do his job—and had made him think about resigning in the wake of the homeless shelter incident.

Klein, 59, vowed to stop drinking, with the support of his wife of 29 years, Colleen, and to stay on as premier "I think I have the ability to carry on with the job," he said "I am going to go as long as I possibly can and hopefully end this journey without having another drink. One day at a time." Albertans, meanwhile, appeared to be supportive. "Ralph can run the country half drunk better than the other people we have in charge," said one caller to a radio phone-in show.

Should Ralph Klein have resigned?
www.macleans.ca

Unfriendly neighbours

Relations between India and Pakistan—never good at the best of times—deteriorated even further in the wake of the Dec 13 suicide attack on the national parliament complex in New Delhi India blames the assault—in which 14 people, including all five attackers died—on Pakistani militants who are fighting to separate Kashmir from India, and accused Pakistan's intelligence service of sponsoring it. Officials in Islamabad denied the allegations, saying India was not interested in finding out the truth but was trying to avoid talks on Kashmir Since their division into separate nations after independence from Britain in 1947, Islamic Pakistan and majority Hindu India have fought three wars, two of them over their competing claims to the disputed region, which is mostly Muslim Each of the nuclear-armed nations put its army on high alert on Dec 18, with India saying war was a legitimate response to the suicide attack



Protesting in New Delhi

Feeling better?

When the tally is in for 2001, Canada's total health spending will likely have broken the $100-billion mark for the first time—an average of $3,298 a person According to the calculations by the Canadian Institute for Health Information, an independent agency that answers to ministers of health, hospitals, drugs and physician services take the lion's share Total health spending for the year is expected to account for 9 4 per cent of GDP up from 9 1 in 2000 and tying Canada with France for third place, following the United States and Germany

Who's in charge?

Chastised both at home and abroad, Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat followed up his television appeal for an end to suicide attacks against Israel by arresting 15 members of his own security force and closing more than two dozen offices of the militant groups Hamas and Islamic Jihad But with the clampdown generating little support in Palestine or the Arab world, even Israeli reaction was difficult to gauge. Foreign Minister Shimon Peres suggested Israel will end its tank-led blockade of cities when it feels Arafat's Palestinian Authority is taking charge A more hawkish Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon reiterated the right to make military incursions into Palestinian territory in pursuit of terrorists Sharon also told British Prime Minister Tony Blair that several recent attacks on Israel were carried out by groups directly linked to Arafat.

Off death row

To some, he is a vicious cop killer, to others a victim of a racist frame-up But as of Dec 19, Mumia Abu-Jamal, 47, was no longer condemned to death row. In a ruling that satisfied neither camp, U.S Federal Court Judge William Yohn threw out the death sentence for the former Black Panther who was convicted in 1982 of the 1981 murder of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner Yohn ordered a new sentencing hearing—but refused to grant Abu-Jamal a new trial His lawyers, noting they have new evidence to clear him, described the ruling as only a partial victory. The officer's widow, Maureen Faulkner, called Yohn "a sick and twisted person"



The Week That Was

Million-dollar man

Scott Peterson, the once high flying investment banker who was fired recently from his post as chairman and CEO of Yorkton Securities Inc of Toronto, agreed to pay $1 million to the Ontario Securities Commission Yorkton will also make a "voluntary payment" of $1 25 million



Ex-CEO Paterson strikes a deal

The settlement deals were struck following an 18-month investigation by the regulator into the financing of small companies by Yorkton that were conducted both sides agreed, in a "culture of noncompliance" with conflict-of-interest rules Paterson's actions, while not breaking securities law, were "contrary to the public interest." Paterson is not allowed to work for a securities firm for two years

And they're off

The long-awaited insurance wars began with a friendly bid by Sun Life Financial Services of Canada Inc for Clarica Life Insurance Co On Jan 1 Ottawa will allow rivals to take over midsized insurers like Clarica under rules laid out after most major firms abandoned mutual ownership by policyholders and went public Toronto-based Sun Life offered $7 3 billion for Clarica, headquartered in Waterloo Ont. But many analysts expected competing bids possibly from Winnipeg-based Great West Lifeco Inc and Manulife Financial Corp of Toronto

Villeneuve's secret

Jacques Villeneuve deserves an Academy Award The 1997 Formula One world champion hit the slopes with a heavy heart but put on a happy face on the weekend of Dec 14 to 16 while hosting the Grand Prix 24h de Tremblant in Quebec—a celebrity charity ski race that raised $300 000 for the Juvenile Diabetes Research Foundation Only hours before the event, Villeneuve 30 learned his friend and mentor Craig Pollock was forced to resign as managing director from British American Racing, the team the two created in 1997 (He's being replaced by Subaru world rally boss David Richards) Although Villeneuve said he "was gutted" by the news, he and Pollock decided to keep it a secret and not spoil the weekend



The F1 driver on the slopes

It was the first time Villeneuve hosted a 24-hour charity ski event in Canada, using the same format of his successful European event now entering its fourth year And he was joined by personalities like singer Roch Voisine and fiancée Kimberly Bemis TV star Shaun Ben son *(The Associates)* and Olympic gold medallist Mynam Bédard When Pollock's departure was announced on Dec 17 Villeneuve turned his attention back to his day job Winless since 1997, the St Jean-sur-Richelieu native might now be tempted to leave the struggling team "For sure it's a difficult moment," said Villeneuve at the BAR 2002 launch, which took place on Dec 18 "But it is not a team of just one man—it's a team where there are many people and we have to continue." And there is a silver lining: Villeneuve said Pollock will resume working as his personal manager, as he was before BAR was started



Argentina's deadly economic protests

Thousands of protesters took to the streets of many of Argentina's largest cities, including the capital, Buenos Aires, to protest the government's handling of the economy At least 20 people were killed and hundreds injured in widespread rioting and looting that on Dec 19 prompted President Fernando de la Rua to declare a 30-day state of siege The emergency declaration allowed authorities to suspend most civil liberties while giving police greater powers to make arrests On Dec 20, Economy Minister Domingo Cavallo, whom many Argentines blame for failing to pull the economy out of a four-year recession that has seen unemployment top 18 per cent, submitted his resignation Hours later the president himself resigned

Passages

Divorcing: After a relationship that included a fake marriage, a real marriage, testicular cancer, a house fire, the hit movie *Charlie's Angels*, and the flop *Freddie Got Fingered*, Pembroke, Ont.-born comedian **Tom Green** and actor **Drew Barrymore** are calling it quits Six months after tying the knot in Malibu Calif Green filed a divorce petition citing irreconcilable differences It was the first marriage for Green, 30, and the second for Barrymore, 26, whose 1994 marriage to bar owner **Jeremy Thomas** ended after 19 days.



Died: Pauline McGibbon made history in 1974 when she was appointed lieutenant-governor of Ontario—the first women in the British Commonwealth to hold such a position She was also the first woman to serve as director of a major Canadian corporation, holding that title at four different companies, including IBM Canada Ltd and Imasco Ltd Born in Sarnia, Ont., McGibbon 91, graduated from the University of Toronto in 1933 with a degree in modern history She died in Toronto after a lengthy illness

Died: Glaa Smith made her dream come true While in remission from bone cancer, the Dartmouth, N.S., teenager represented her province in the Miss Teen Canada International pageant last July Though the peer mediator and former cheerleader didn't win pageant organizers gave her a special award for courage After the competition, tumours were found in her spine and lungs Smith, 16, died on Dec 12

Awarded: In a ceremony at Rideau Hall in Ottawa, Gov Gen **Adrienne Clarkson** presented the Companion of the Order of Canada posthumously to Montreal author **Mordecai Richler** His wife, **Florence**, and their three sons accepted the award—which was announced before Richler's death last July. "He regarded it as an honour," said **Noah Richler**, Mordecai's middle son The ceremony was followed by a champagne toast to the writer



An Afghan fighter [illegible] captured ammunition, Old Gl[illegible] flies in Kandahar

Canada joins the hunt for bin Laden

With the Taliban defeated after 73 days of fighting, the war in Afghanistan became a manhunt for terrorist Osama bin Laden—although the quarry appeared to have vanished. U.S. helicopters flew night missions through mountain valleys in the Tora Bora region of eastern Afghanistan while Afghan fighters, backed by U.S. and British forces, continued their sweep of caves in the region. But according to some intelligence reports, bin Laden and Taliban leader Mullah Mohammed Omar may have crossed into northern Pakistan. That prompted a senior U.S. official to issue a blunt warning. "Any country," said deputy defence secretary Paul Wolfowitz, "that would harbour bin Laden would be out of their minds."

In an attempt to discover bin Laden's whereabouts, the U.S. military interrogated prisoners belonging to his Al-Qaeda network. Meanwhile, increasing evidence came to light that Al-Qaeda reached into Canada. According to *The Toronto Sun*, Marwan Al-Shehhi, 23, one of the hijackers of the jetliner that crashed into the south tower of the World Trade Center on Sept. 11, lived in a Toronto highrise just months before the attack. More than 12 tenants, shown pictures of Al-Shehhi by the RCMP, recognized the suicide pilot. A second suspected Al-Qaeda terrorist now being held in the U.S., Nabil al-Marabh, lived in the same



Dave Martin/AP

building in an apartment rented by his uncle, Toronto businessman Ahmad Shehab, who is also under investigation.

In Afghanistan, 40 members of Canada's elite Joint Task Force 2 commando unit were deployed near Kandahar to join the search for bin Laden. As many as 1,000 Canadian soldiers are also poised to join a UN peacekeeping force of 5,000 troops. And military action against bin Laden spread outside Afghanistan as troops in Yemen clashed with militants linked to the terrorist, leaving 12 people from both sides dead and 22 wounded. In Brussels, where he was addressing NATO, U.S. Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld welcomed the Yemeni action and issued a sombre warning, saying terrorists could wreak "destruction in London or Paris with nuclear or biological weapons." Such fears only added to the urgency of the continuing hunt.





Barbara Amiel

The handsome solution

I went to Paris 10 days ago to get rid of my remaining French francs before the euro currency debuts in January. I'll use any excuse to go to Paris. I feel like Audrey Hepburn and Simone de Beauvoir every time I get off the train. My great ambition is to buy a pied-à-terre and sit in cafés day and night. "Paris," I rhapsodized with impeccable banality to the driver Eurostar provided, "is magical." "I'd rather be in London," he replied with a perfect Gallic shrug.

Well, I could see his point. The doctors in Paris were on strike that day. The French government has mandated a maximum 35-hour week, down from 39, in order to create more jobs. The doctors explained that sometimes they have to work 60-hour weeks. The government shrugged: fine, work your 60 hours but get paid for 35. The gendarmerie were on strike. I'm not sure why, but the French being the French, it may have been because it was a Thursday. One of the powerful transport unions, which had already negotiated a 21-hour week for its members, demanded that train drivers should now have their week reduced to 17 hours since everyone else was working four hours less.

> **One day, a Canadian Valéry Giscard d'Estaing will steer us into an American union more congenial than Europe's**

"You know what my taxes are?" said my driver. I was about to guess when a large bus tried to hit us. "Why are the buses trying to hit you?" I whimpered. "This is an expensive new car," he said. According to him, the bus drivers' union has negotiated a maximum fine of 50 francs for any accident—and no other penalty. "And they pay nothing if the passengers caused the driver stress," explained my driver. He was exaggerating, I expect, but there was something cavalier in the way buses targeted cars. It's the French form of class warfare.

France is a country where about 25 per cent of the people work for the government, another chunk live on government benefits, and a minority work to support all the others. Add a wealth tax, a departure tax and an all-powerful tax department and you have trapped the productive middle classes. But France is rich in food, benefits from the European Union agricultural policy, and won't run out of money for a few years.

French social and labour policies amuse visitors but cause concern in EU circles. The EU is really about just France and Germany. The Germans worry that the French will never be fiscally responsible. What worries the French is that the British may actually join the EU common currency. This is where the fun begins. The British people aren't keen on joining, not least because they see the danger of going the way of France. But PM Tony Blair aches to be a leading player in Europe. France fears that if Britain brings its special relationship with America and its former colonies (aka the Commonwealth) into the EU, they would squeeze the French out of their powerful position. Then it will be the hated Germans and the ghastly English running things. They wish Margaret Thatcher were still around banging on about the dangers of the EU rather than enthusiastic Euroscout Blair.

The tall, gorgeous Frenchman with the terrific suits and perfect hauteur is France's best hope—and Britain's. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, former president of France and finance minister under de Gaulle, has just been appointed chairman of the commission to draft a new EU constitution. This constitution is a major step towards a European super-state. Giscard doesn't think the British belong in the EU either.

Right now there are 15 EU countries, with 11 languages and a revolving presidency with a six-month term. That means it takes 7½ years to go through every member being president, and Luxembourg gets to hold the presidency as long as France. Makes the Tower of Babel look sensible. No one doubts Giscard will devise a brilliant plan to weight the voting system so that the EU presidency will be shared by France and Germany with a term thrown every now and then to satellites like Belgium or Austria.

Meanwhile, there's a lot of talk in Europe about Russia. But the EU is losing out in the Russia stakes to America. Russian President Vladimir Putin recently told a former U.S. cabinet minister that he was not terribly worried about the U.S. abrogating its missile treaties. "The greatest threat to Russia," he said, "is Islamic fundamentalism." The new Russia's aims are still imperial, but they have to do with a Russian Empire, not a Soviet Empire. Russia today wants to consolidate traditional Russian lands and neighbours such as Ukraine, Belarus and Asiatic Russia. Islam threatens within and without. Just like America, but much more seriously.

The European Union is dead set against a Russian-American match. It sees itself as broker between these two powers, not as bridesmaid. It would like to be a rival to America, which is not easy, given America's pre-eminence and European reluctance to do anything by itself—like sort out Yugoslavia.

What will this mean to Canada? I haven't a clue. Canada, as integrated into the U.S. economy as California, will probably go on jealously guarding its independence from the U.S. like someone jealously guarding independence from his own brain. One day, a Canadian Giscard will steer us into an American Union—which will be much more congenial to its smaller members than the EU. Geopolitics these days is the newest game in town. m



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Scary new world

Sept. 11 left us thinking more about our place amid global tensions, and relying on our essential pragmatism to get by



BY ALLAN R. GREGG

In the three months plus since the attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center, much has been written about how the events of Sept. 11 forever altered us and the world we live in. There is no question the terrorist attacks traumatized Canadians. They brought us closer to our families, made us recognize that Canada cannot shirk its military responsibilities, forced us to look beyond the comforts of our borders, and drove home the fact that the world is, and for some time will continue to be, a dangerous place.

For some, this trauma also has lent new importance to religious beliefs. Others are questioning the wisdom of pursuing the holy grail of more material possessions. Cynical for decades about government's ability to forge a common good, we now fully support Canadian and U.S. initiatives in the war on terrorism and, while we worry that the hostilities could escalate, we're prepared to back a long military effort and, if necessary, see it expand into



Six-year-old Zöe van't Hof of Toronto made this drawing as a school project soon after the Sept. 11 attacks. The artist says she didn't give the people expressions because she couldn't imagine how they felt, but she wishes she hed given the sun a sad face.

other regions of the globe.

The 2001 *Maclean's*/CBC News poll provides dramatic evidence of these feelings. Almost two decades of analyzing these year-end soundings also tells us how uncharacteristic it is for Canadians to embrace them, and that we would most surely not hold them were it nor for the outbreak of terrorism. But the balance of our findings makes something equally clear—that Canadians have come to these views not out of any fear, naiveté, wishful thinking or slavish acceptance of presenbed dogma, but from what appears to be a cool, reasoned and pragmatic response to their altered world

Sept. 11 may have caused Canadians to change their assessment of the world they live in, but it has not changed them as people. We're not just wishing for a return to the old, or succumbing to the temptation to lash out, in prejudice, at obvious targets. Nor are we rushing to champion an easy and quick fix. We have chosen, instead, to accept these new circumstances and to adapt ourselves to them. In this respect, far from changing us, the trauma of Sept. 11 seems to have refocused Canadians and given us cause to re-dedicate ourselves to our essential character. This reasoned, pragmatic and rational perspective is evident throughout this year's polling results.

Surprisingly, virtually none of us believes that the threat of terrorism can be entirely eliminated. Half believe efforts to root out the perpetrators of these acts will continue for at least four years, and fewer than one in four can foresee this war being over in less than a year. Moreover, for all the support Canadians have extended to the domestic and U.S. military initiatives to date, similar majorities don't think they'll do the job entirely. Especially outside Quebec, at least half of us wouldn't be surprised to see a variety of terrorist acts against the U.S.—chemical and biological, attacks on nuclear facilities, another hijacked plane, even a nuclear explosion. Anywhere from one-seventh to more than one-quarter think those scenarios are very likely. What's more, majorities in every province other than Quebec think Canada is likely to become a target of terrorists.

It would be tempting to attribute these results to an overwrought culture of pessimism and dread, or to conclude that Canadians are merely trying to insulate themselves from the horrors by anticipating and preparing for the worst. Yet there is no evidence that Canadians are hiding their heads in the sand, quivering in fear or even significantly altering their lifestyles and priorities. The religious may be praying more and family may have taken on greater importance, but the vast majority of Canadians are still shopping, sleeping soundly in their beds, travelling and going about their lives as they always have. And while they are calling for increased measures to guarantee their security and safety, they are still firmly focussed on the problems with health care and the failing economy—and expect their leaders and government to keep the same perspective.

While they are acutely aware of the dangers posed by terrorism, Canadians' response is not to run away from them but to integrate them into their world view. We seem to have accepted that this is now the way the world is.

At the same time, Sept. 11, the forces of globalization, the allure of the American dollar and the continuing onslaught of the U.S. monoculture have not drawn us any closer into the orbit of our neighbours to the south. While we may empathize more as a result of the common threat, we are no more likely to want to be U.S. citizens or feel that we have become any more American in recent years. Similarly, we have witnessed no momentum over the past two years towards adopting a common currency. On the contrary, Canadians are twice as likely to describe our relationship with the U.S. as "friends but not particularly close" (47 per cent) than as "the best of friends" (23 per cent). Less acceptable definitions are "cordial but distant" (18 per cent) and "like family" (10 per cent). Across all regions and demographic and socioeconomic groups, majorities resist the notion that we should be prepared to give up our sovereignty to fight terrorism.

We are prepared to pay other prices—including the acceptance of often sweeping measures to enhance security in our new world—but sacrificing our basic identity as something unique, different and separate from the United States is not one of them. We will entertain the harmonization of our immigration and refugee policies, even a North American security perimeter, but the message is clear: adopt these reforms if they'll be effective, but don't sacrifice our freedom to act independently.

In this regard, our ability to embrace and support U.S. efforts but, at the same time, withstand and even reject much of the rhetoric surrounding the war effort amounts to a classic demonstration of Canada's exquisite pragmatism and clarity of thinking. Even while acknowledging that we may not be spared from future terrorism, we are divided—and therefore as a nation uncertain—about whether the attacks represent an assault on all Western societies or solely on America.

Possibly as a testament to our internationalism and ability to lift our perspective beyond the horizons of North American xenophobia, Canadians (in all regions and across all demographic groups) are generally willing to acknowledge that some in the Middle East have legitimate grievances regarding their treatment by the West. In the same vein, and in the face of hothouse media incitement, we refuse to demonize the evil one, Osama bin Laden—his elimination, we believe, will neither rid the world of terrorism nor put an end to our anxiety. Rather than seek retribution through his annihilation, our preference is to allow due process and have bin Laden face trial.

We're solidly behind the U.S. war effort, but President George W. Bush loses us when he demands a black-and-white choosing of sides. Over eight out of 10 Canadians reject that stark appraisal and stand fast with the right of the war effort's opponents to "speak out."

In fact, there is a distinct pattern to what we are and are not willing to accept in the name of security. Reflecting our collectivist heritage, Canadians will tolerate limits to their individual rights. We will carry identification cards and have our fingerprints taken, and we support the government's anti-terrorism bill even if it presents the likelihood of abuse in its application to non-terrorist activity. Against this, we have not succumbed to the natural prejudices this conflict might otherwise inflame.

Support for restricting immigration, while relatively widespread, is tepid. Even more telling, Canadians have resisted the temptation to blame an entire people for the transgressions of the few, and clearly see this as a war on terrorism and not on Islam. We are also not willing to see perceived threats and promised protests pour sand in the gears of the machinery of civilization. Overwhelmingly, we expect the Olympics to go ahead as planned in Salt Lake City in February, and a meeting of world leaders to take place in Alberta as scheduled in June.

In a nutshell, we will give up some of our latitude to pursue our individual needs but we will not sacrifice our values, sense of morality or our distinctiveness. This is the response of a culture with a strong—arguably, even strengthening—sense of itself, no matter how much trauma or anxiety Sept. 11 may have produced.

Perhaps nowhere is this resolve more apparent than in the evolution of our views concerning our military responsibilities over the past three months. For decades, Canadians have placed a very low priority on our defence capabilities and military spending. Our self-image as peacekeepers, and not warriors, has been documented thoroughly since the time of Lester Pearson. Now, upwards of two our of three Canadians agree "we must substantially increase the amount of money we spend on the Armed Forces." Long used as the rationale for our limited defence capacity, Canadians now soundly reject the notion that "we don't need to spend much money on the Armed Forces because we have the United States next door." Significantly more Canadians also believe that the main purpose of our military *should* be "defence and attack" than see that as its prime role now. There's no question that this is a new outlook among Canadians, one that we have never before detected in polls.

Yes, we have changed. But for all that, we have also stayed the course. Almost six our of 10 of us continue to believe that Canada's principal role in the world should center on peacekeeping. Sept. 11 awoke us to realities that we might not have recognized before then. Among them is the notion that, as a sovereign nation, we must have the military capacity to shoulder our share of responsibility to the world community. At the same time, we are not a military power and show no desire to become one. We are who we are—a pragmatic, reasonable and rational people who will adapt but not be swayed from that essential posture by terrorism or any other force in our altered world. m

Allan R. Gregg is chairman of the Toronto-based consulting firm The Strategic Counsel which conducted the year-end poll for Maclean's and CBC News.

TWO PERSPECTIVES

What is the most important issue facing Canada today?



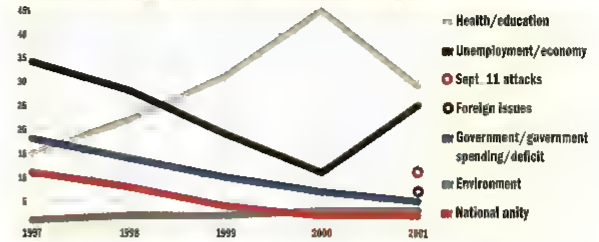
The gender divide

Numerous questions on terrorism, the economy and other issues drew significantly different responses from men and women. Percentage saying Yes:



TERRORISM MATTERS, BUT SO DO OLDER CONCERNS

Percentages citing various issues as Canada's "most important problem"





Richard Perry/NY

The responses suggest we have accepted that this is now the way the world is



Keeping our distance

We're sympathetic but not really close to Americans

BY ROBERT SHEPPARD

You'd think tragedy would draw us closer. And there is no question it has—up to a point. The terrorist attacks of Sept. 11 brought out Canada's most generous characteristics. Without a second thought we trekked to New York City to help with the rescue and comfort survivors, and to spend our battered loonie in the cause of reclamation. Truly, we felt our neighbours' pain. There is even some skerchy evidence to suggest Canadians haven't quite returned to "normal" as quickly as Americans have when measured by such esoteric criteria as airline travel and sleeping habits. We must be more sensitive beings than we like to let on.

But scratch a little deeper and the portrait of a nation that emerges from this latest *Maclean's*/CBC News poll is of one quietly distancing itself from its big neighbour to the south. Two years ago, a year-end survey focusing on Canada/U.S. issues prophesied "The Vanishing Border" as it documented a remarkable confluence in the two countries' attitudes. That is not the case today. Interest in a common currency has dropped from previous levels. So, more noticeably, has the number of Canadians who feel we are becoming increasingly like Americans. Asked in 1990 if they would like to become American citizens and live in the U.S., 60 per cent said no thanks. Today that number stands at a vigorous 72.

The rhetoric, of course, from prime ministers on down, is that Canada and the U.S. are the best of friends. So close, in fact, we feel slighted when British Prime Minister Tony Blair gets more White House attention than Jean Chrétien. But if you ask Canadians directly how they would describe relations with the U.S., the overwhelming response is much more reserved: friends, but not especially close. Only one in 10 say we are like family.



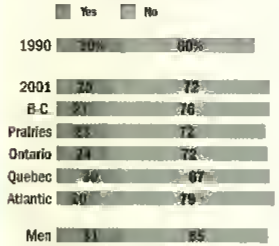
Chrétien visiting Ground Zero

Tim Hursley for Maclean's

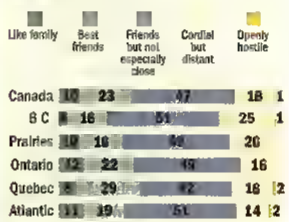
FRIENDS—SORT OF

Keeping our distance

Q: If you were given the opportunity to become a citizen of the U.S. and live and work there, would you?



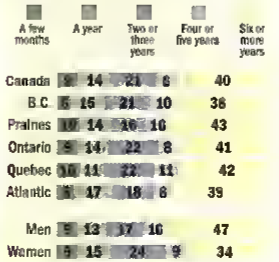
Q. How would you describe our relations with the U.S.?



Q. Were the Sept. 11 attacks aimed at the United States alone or at western democratic societies, including Canada?



Q. How long do you think the war against terrorism will last?



Why such coolness, especially in the wake of Sept. 11? There may well be psychological reasons. When a tragic death occurs in someone else's family it can be difficult to know how much to intrude, and so sometimes you pull away. Also, the presence of a Republican in the White House may account for some aloofness. Pollsters have long remarked that Canadians would make great Democrats if we could vote in the U.S., we share, even today, the insouciant belief that the state can do some good.

But the biggest reason may be found in the poll itself. Canadians hugely back the war effort in Afghanistan and against global terrorism—on par with American public opinion. But there is one area where we part company dramatically. According to a recent Gallup survey, the vast majority of Americans feel the war against terrorism will be over within months, a year at the most. Canadians—even though the *Maclean's*/CBC poll was conducted after Kabul fell and the Taliban were in full rout—are still bracing for the long haul. Fully 70 per cent feel this conflict will go on for at least two or three years. Forty per cent feel it will last longer than the Second World War! Correct or not, the response is telling evidence of a country hunkering down, of Canadians putting on their war face.

We have been here before, of course. And the interesting corollary—whether from the Boer War, Vimy Ridge, Dieppe or even Vietnam (or the 1970s fight against inflation, for that matter)—has been the corresponding rise in nationalism, even nationhood. Governments beware: Canadians are willing to sacrifice for the cause—support for a security crackdown is everywhere apparent—but they almost always demand something in return. The aftermath of the Second World War ushered in a social activism—pensions, medicare—that still dominates the national agenda. The battle mentality of the '60s and early '70s can be said to have sparked the revolution in human rights.

This war, of course, is still in its infancy. And in the media age moods swing with unrepentant ferocity. But this year-end cultural snapshot does give credence to the notion that history repeats. In our time-honoured schism, Quebec opinion towards the U.S. and the events of Sept. 11 is noticeably different from the rest of Canada's. Quebecers are surprisingly less troubled, less affected in almost every way. By contrast, in Atlantic Canada, a feeling of vulnerability—fear of more attacks, fear that Canada itself will be a target—seems to permeate the collective soul.

As a group, mind you, the message is clear: Canadians are willing to give up individual freedoms—we are suddenly huge supporters of identity cards—but not a jot of sovereignty. How this will play out in the ongoing cross-border disputes over lumber or border stops for commercial traffic is still an open question. But a sign of the times is that we seem ready to back a more vigorous Canadian Forces—and one that is more than merely an international boy scout. After years of saying they prefer the butter of social investment to guns and tanks, Canadians are now prepared to give more money to the military and—shades of the mouse that roared—*roundly* reject the notion that Canada's security needs are protected by sheltering under the U.S. umbrella. Of course, that may simply reflect the realization that superpower missiles are irrelevant when terrorists slip through borders on visitors' visas.

A resurgent nationalism? Perk up, perhaps? It will take more than one poll, no matter how detailed, to make that call for sure. There is still a kind of stubborn, self-centred rationalism running through the heart of Canadian opinion. While American surveys show the fight against terrorism squatting all over the public agenda, this poll shows Canadians have not been dislodged from their primary concerns: health care, jobs and the economy still dominate.

That's not to say we haven't been emotionally affected—especially in English-speaking Canada, not generally known for wearing its emotions in plain view. A notable and perhaps surprising majority of Canadians outside Quebec (54 per cent) feel the Sept. 11 attacks on Manhattan and the Pentagon were not just on America but on all Western democracies, Canada included. An even larger group (64 per cent) feels Canada is a likely target. If we say to the U.S. at this horrific juncture in our linked history that we *feel* your pain, it is because we do, quite literally. And if that empathy causes us to draw away and assert our own Canadianness, our own sovereignty, in the months and years ahead—well, maybe that is just something pain and sacrifice will do. m



In search of our role

We want more security, but don't want to be warriors

BY JONATHON GATEHOUSE

In the dismal days after Sept. 11, Jean Chrétien pledged Canada would "stand shoulder to shoulder" with the United States in the global war on terrorism. But since then, the Canadian public seems to have decided we might be better positioned watching our neighbour's broad back. Support for the U.S. campaign against Osama bin Laden's Al-Qaeda network and its Taliban protectors runs deep—84 per cent of respondents to the *Maclean's*/CBC News annual survey of national opinion give their approval. But only 23 per cent want to see Canadian troops directly involved in the fighting.

Like others who participated in the poll, Joyce Reid was horrified by what happened in New York City and Washington. The U.S. bombings and ground war are completely justified, says the retired seamstress from Maple Ridge, B.C. "I'm on the side of the Americans. I think they did the right thing." But when it comes to direct Canadian participation in the war, she isn't so sure we have the means, or the right, to help fix the problem by force. After all, asks Reid, who is really threatened? "I don't think the terrorists mind so much about Canada," she says. "Their grudges seem to be against the powerful Americans." Reid's sentiments are shared by a plurality of respondents, but the question of just who is under attack deeply divides Canadians. 49 per cent of those who answered the poll feel the U.S. was the sole target on Sept. 11, while 48 per cent said bin Laden and his followers declared war on all Western democracies.

A current of disagreement, doubt and caution meanders through many of the responses to questions about the war and terrorism. In many cases, the shock and horror of the World Trade Center and Pentagon disasters seem to have run up against a national sense that our military might not be up to the task at hand. Seventy-nine per cent of poll participants support the involvement of the Canadian Forces in the Afghan conflict—but mostly in a peacekeeping role. Sixty-eight per cent want to see Ottawa "substantially increase" the amount of money it spends on armed forces, yet 57 per cent believe that, despite the new global security threat, the main purpose of our military should continue to be peacekeeping.

"The government's polls are telling them the same thing," says Martin Shadwick, a defence analyst at York University's Centre for International and Security Studies in Toronto. "There is a disconnect here." Shadwick says the Dec. 10 federal budget shows Ottawa isn't planning any radical shift in priorities—of the $7.7 billion in new security spending, only $1.2 billion is going to the military and, of that, just $300 million is earmarked for the tanks, guns and aircraft that are the tools of the trade. "Much of our military hardware has the word 'aging' plopped in front of it," says Shadwick. "But that $300 million wouldn't buy you one big transport plane." In the larger picture, few Canadians rate terrorism as the most important issue facing the country. Just 11 per cent of respondents cite the Sept. 11 attacks as their major concern, far behind the bread-and-butter issues of health care and a looming recession.

Still, while the threat of terrorism doesn't dominate Canadians' minds, the aftershocks of Sept. 11 do linger. Fully 58 per cent of respondents think a terrorist attack on Canada is likely. That feeling is lowest in Quebec at 39 per cent and highest in the Atlantic region at 67 per cent. "They could attack at anytime, anywhere," is how respondent Gail McHugh of Marysvale, Nfld., sees it. McHugh, a 37-year-old housewife, says the terror attacks brought home the fact that no nation, no matter how rich or powerful, is invulnerable. "I



U.S. marines on the ground in Afghanistan

Jim Hollander/Reuters

BATTLE STATIONS

Actions and reactions

Percentage thinking:

There is a basis for the feelings of grievance that some in the Middle East feel against the West: 68

Canada likely to become a terrorist target: 58

We should substantially increase the amount of money we spend on our armed forces: 68

A never-ending war?

Percentage saying:

The U.S. and its allies will completely eliminate the threat of terrorism from Islamic fundamentalists: 4

The terrorist threat directed at the U.S. and the West from Islamic fundamentalists will end with the capture or killing of Osama bin Laden and his network: 8

What we have to do

Percentage approving possible ways of combating terrorism:

Introduce personal-identity cards: 78



Limit refugee claimants' contact with Canadian society: 59



Restrict immigration from Muslim countries: 49

never thought the States would be attacked before Sept. 11," she says. "And think about it; in Canada we're so close to them." Poll respondents from the East Coast are also more likely to expect future attacks on the U.S., 81 per cent deeming a serious chemical or biological attack likely, versus a national average of 68 per cent.

Peter M. Butler, a professor who tracks and studies public opinion at Dalhousie University in Halifax, says he is not surprised to find higher anxiety in the Atlantic region. "We're used to feeling vulnerable," he says. "The economy creates that sensation." Atlantic Canadians have long felt they are at the mercy of outside forces—corporations, governments, the environment—that they have limited capacity to resist, says Butler. "Control over your life is easy in a big urban area where you have options," he adds. "It's not so easy here." The traditional north-south links on the East Coast and the economic importance of the Canadian Forces in the region might also heighten sensitivity, Butler says.

When it comes to the war on terrorism, Canadians and Americans appear to be on the same page. Sixty-four per cent of Canadians admit to being worried hostilities could expand into a broader conflict pitting the U.S. and its allies against the Arab and Muslim world—as were 63 per cent of Americans in an October ABC News/*Washington Post* survey. Still, Canadians, like their southern neighbours, are resolute—84 per cent approve of the U.S. military campaign, just four percentage points shy of the Americans taking part in a Nov. 15 *Newsweek* poll.

That desire to defeat terrorism is so strong that many Canadians seem ready to embrace drastic security measures on the home front. Almost 60 per cent of respondents say they are prepared to give up some personal freedoms to counter the terrorists. "If you don't think they're here, then you're a fool," says Gerry Wenus, 49, of Toronto. "Read the papers." Like 53 per cent of respondents, Wenus likes the idea of everyone carrying a personal-identity card. He's with the 56 per cent who supported the federal government's anti-terrorism laws, which provide police and intelligence agencies with broad new powers. Wenus also endorses the notion of clamping down on immigration from Muslim countries, and keeping refugee claimants in secure locations while their cases are being processed (proposals that 26 per cent and 31 per cent of respondents, respectively, say they strongly support). Forty-four per cent of those polled say they feel strongly that Canada should return refugee claimants who arrive without valid ID. "I think they let too many people into this country," says Wenus. "The immigration laws in this country are horrible."



Altwasser doesn't think war and violence will resolve the grievances in the Middle East

What's more, poll respondents broadly endorse the government's anti-terrorism legislation even though 65 per cent think it likely that police will abuse the powers they are about to receive. An overwhelming majority of 82 per cent, however, say critics of the war effort must be free to speak out. "I think Canadians are, in some respects, being quite realistic about this," says John Thompson, director of the Mackenzie Institute, a Toronto-based think tank for violence and security issues. There is a new recognition that international terrorism does touch this country, he says, something that hasn't always been present in Canada.

At the same time, Thompson calls it reassuring that people "still have enough common sense to understand that the police are not perfect." Support for such a radical policy option as allowing government-authorized assassinations of political figures known to support terrorist groups is less clear-cut, with 48-per-cent opposition versus 47-per-cent approval.

Orval Altwasser, a grain farmer from Yellow Grass, Sask., says he has grappled with many of those issues since Sept. 11. He is among the 68 per cent who believe there is a basis for the grievances some in the Middle East feel towards the Western world. "It's good to be patriotic and proud of your country," he says of U.S. foreign policy, "but when you are constantly waving your flag in the faces of the have-nots, it creates problems." Given the severity of the threat, and the nature of the people who carried out the attacks, Altwasser says Canada's only option is to toughen up its immigration laws and impose stiff security measures. But he's reluctant to embrace a more militaristic society, saying Canadian troops should be used only for peacekeeping, not war.

Altwasser, whose family has been farming in Yellow Grass for three generations, says he understands the American military reaction, but like many Canadians, he wishes the conflict could have been avoided. War and violence seems unlikely to bring an end to the long-simmering hatreds and grudges that have helped create a welcoming climate in the Middle East for people like bin Laden, says the farmer. "Let's sit down and ask these people what we can do to become friends again," says Altwasser. "That's what I've done in my life and I've got some very good friends now who used to be my enemies."

ON SALE NOW





Where the solitude meet

It's hard to tell Quebec's responses from the national results

BY BENOIT AUBIN

We wouldn't always know it by listening to Bloc Québécois MPs or Parti Québécois stalwarts, but Quebecers are, in many regards, Canadians just *comme les autres*. Across a broad range of issues, the attitudes of Quebecers seem very much in sync with those expressed nationally. That holds true from their solid support for Ottawa's anti-terrorism legislation to their shared fears that security forces might one day abuse their new powers. Also held in common: a sense that Ottawa should reappraise its policies in the Middle East.

You can't tell a typical Quebecer from an average Canadian by their positions on the American military action in Afghanistan (overwhelming support), or the idea of turning away refugee claimants arriving in Canada with dubious ID (solid approval). Similarly, Quebecers share with other Canadians a guarded optimism about the future, a confidence in their ability to look after their economic interests, an ambivalence about having a common currency with the United States, and a concern that the country is heading into a recession.

In our previous year-end polls, Quebecers have consistently demonstrated a great respect for the lifestyle and behavioural differences of others. Whether the issue is extramarital affairs, sexual orientation or simply smoking in public places, Quebecers are less likely to wag a finger than Canadians elsewhere. And again, this year's survey reveals differences of attitudes within and beyond Quebec's borders. But with a questionnaire focused on the aftermath of Sept. 11, those differences tend to be slight rather than radical—of the "somewhat more/somewhat less" variety, in pollster parlance. And in these discrepancies between Canadian and Québécois attitudes lies what has become of former premier Robert Bourassa's cherished distinct society: the poll depicts Quebecers essentially as Canadians, although with a mind of their own on many issues.



Landry faces diminishing acceptance of the sovereigntist cause

Jacques Boissinot/CP Archive

Quebecers, for instance, are more likely than other Canadians to say they have become "more like Americans" over the past few years. They are also somewhat less hawkish. Canadians outside Quebec are more likely to agree to the need to increase spending on armed forces, support Canadian involvement in Afghanistan or give a nod to the political assassination of terrorist leaders. But Quebecers seem more jealous of their personal liberties. They are clearly less willing than the average Canadian to give up some personal freedom to combat terrorism.

To some extent, those attitudes may reflect that well-documented hedonist-individualist streak that Quebecers like to flaunt to the rest of the country. "Once, we submitted this proposition to Canadians: eat, drink, be merry, for tomorrow you may die," pollster Allan Gregg recalls. "Quebec teenagers agreed to it to the tune of 77 per cent. In British Columbia, only 17 per cent of teens said they agreed."

But there is clearly more than that to Quebecers' responses about the world since Sept. 11. Following the attacks on New York City and Washington, Premier Bernard Landry was quick to snuff out any talk of a referendum on secession for the foreseeable future: no more direct confrontation with Canada. He also snapped up a full-page ad in *The New York Times* to express sympathy and solidarity. He signed that letter "Prime Minister of Quebec," but Landry has otherwise undergone a significant shift in semantics since he took over government last spring.

Gone are references to *le peuple québécois* in official communications. The current flavour is *la nation québécoise*. "Nation," it is thought, is more inclusive of all citizens of the province—non-francophones, federalists and sovereigntists—than the politically charged "people." Nation also carries a stronger connotation of purpose and legitimacy—important characteristics for a wanna-be sovereign government. Landry, no doubt, has polls like this one, too.

For decades, the separatists' doctrine was that Quebec could not develop as a "nation" unless it became independent from Ottawa—or, failing that, without acquiring a significant share of extra constitutional powers. But to this day, that dogma has proven to be a hard sell. Quebecers, especially the younger generations, have rejected the nationalist politics and the constitutional wranglings of the past—now widely perceived as a sterile baby boom thing. Instead, they have gone resolutely multicultural and global. And, to the separatists' dismay, being part of Canada has not been an impediment.

Quebecers live behind a linguistic barrier that also defines their territory. They have their own media, their own star system. Their own flag. Quebecers can find their own identity, a sense of collective self, in their own province. When they look beyond these confines, they are likely to adopt a continental or global view, quite often skipping the Canadian national step. Thus the "distinct" attitudes shown by Quebecers on several key issues of international interest.

Quebecers don't just think they have become more like Americans. More poll respondents from Quebec than from elsewhere say the Americans are our best friends, and Canada and the U.S. are tied together economically. Canadians elsewhere, on the other hand, are more likely to say they share a common set of values and beliefs with the Americans. So, Quebecers are closer to Americans in their hearts and wallets, but they identify less than other Canadians with our neighbours to the south.

It is easy, then, to understand why Quebecers seem less in favour of spending more money on the Canadian Forces; are more likely to believe the attacks on New York and Washington were aimed solely at the United States, and are more likely to think the U.S. will step in and protect our interests when the heat is on.

In a changing world, the concept of sovereignty is shifting. The United States has declared war not against a precise country—with a border, a flag, a government—but against a movement that straddles borders. In Europe, sovereign countries have jettisoned their individual currencies, their borders becoming little more than symbolic. National air carriers are going broke fast. Globalization is eroding the powers and prerogatives of traditional nation-state governments. And many Quebecers like what they see.

Debating the opportunities and possible strategies of "small nations" (or, in Quebec's case, a semi-nation) in the global village is all the rage in the province's intellectual circles. In this shifting global environment, many in Quebec see an unexpected opportunity: a way out of the political dead end at which four decades of constitutional wrangling with Ottawa have left us. That may just be wishful thinking—time will tell. What the *Maclean's*/CBC News survey seems to suggest, though, is that the Parti Québécois is scrambling to catch up to *le peuple*, sorry, *la nation*. Quebecers are looking outside the box. And thinking globally. m

POINTS OF DIFFERENCE

Quebec | Rest of Canada

Compared with other Canadians, Quebecers are ...

More likely to:

Support personal-identity cards

Be concerned the war will spread

Feel Canada should re-evaluate its Israeli-Palestinian policies

Think we're becoming more like Americans

Less likely to:

Support Canadian involvement in Afghanistan

Want more funding for military

Say they would give up some freedoms to combat terrorism

Think Canada could become a terrorist target

Think police should use all the force necessary to control protesters when world leaders meet in Alberta in June

Think Sept. 11 was an attack on all Western democratic societies, not just U.S.

Think Canadian Forces should be involved in fighting in Afghanistan



Coping mechanisms

We've changed, but in subtle ways since Sept. 11

BY KEN MACQUEEN

The day is slipping away, and Marion McIsaac of tiny River Hebert, N.S., is anxious to get going. "Five more minutes," she warns a telephone caller, "I have Christmas shopping to do." If the world is a dangerous and more complex place after the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, it is also, conversely, a simpler one. So we turn to the things that have taken us this far: familiar rituals for some, faith for others and family for most.

Life in River Hebert—not far from the New Brunswick border but plenty far from Afghanistan—has largely returned to normal, in McIsaac's view. The transfixing images of planes slamming into buildings have been placed in a sad kind of perspective. Here, she is safe. She has never been on an airplane in her 51 years, and she's not about to start now. Her orbit extends to the many relatives who live nearby, to her husband on a disability pension, to her two daughters, one married, one 14 and living at home. "My family," she says, "means more to me now than they ever did before."

It was a given in the aftermath of those attacks that life has changed, profoundly and forever. The annual *Maclean's*/CBC News poll shows otherwise—at least at the personal level. "Yes, there is a large sense that this topic isn't going to go away for a long time," says Allan Gregg, chairman of The Strategic Counsel, the firm that conducted the poll. "But they haven't turned their lives inside out." Rather, everyday life took on some extra baggage—the knowledge that, as members of the world's wealthy and privileged elite, we are vulnerable in ways we hadn't imagined.

Three months after the attacks, there is little evidence that most Canadians, unsure what may yet come, have been warped by hate, fear or anger. There seems, instead, a wary appreciation of evil, an awareness that informs our decisions, altering the course of lives in subde, though often surprising ways.

Three-quarters of Canadians say they have taken more interest in news reports since the terror attacks, and almost as many, 72 per cent, turn to family for support. Nationally, 79 per cent of women respondents are "more appreciative" of family life, compared to 66 per cent of men. Atlantic Canada, with its famously close-knit ties, leads the nation, with 85 per cent reporting a new appreciation for family.

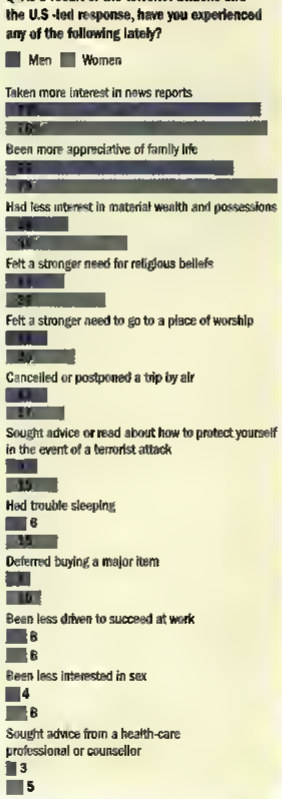
Are we ready to renounce our secular, materialistic society? In the main, no. No more than one-quarter say they have "less interest in material wealth and possessions" or feel a "stronger need for religious beliefs." Even fewer, 16 per cent, feel more drawn to a place of worship. Says Gregg: "The approach here is surprisingly rational. It's not hysterical, it's not overwhelming, it's not truculent. They don't have spittle coming down their chins."

It's not that Canadians were untouched by the events. Rather, aside from a thirst for information and a drawing close to family, the responses of poll respondents are individual rather than universal. In Windsor, Ont., Stéphane Héroux, a private security officer who turns 19 on Dec. 31, will return to school in January. He figures it will take two years of college, maybe university after that, and a strict fitness regimen to realize his dream. "I want to be a fireman," he tells *Maclean's* in a follow-up interview, acknowledging the heroics of New York City's firefighters, and the example of those he meets in Windsor while working security detail, as inspirations. "They like their job," says Héroux. "They like who they are."

John W. Smith recalls thinking, that September morning at his home in Harbour Grace, Nfld., "My glory, I can't believe it." The events have turned the retail sales clerk into a news junkie in his 40s, with opinions on all he sees and reads. Full marks to Finance Minister Paul Martin for spending heavily on domestic security in his budget, Smith says. However, the $100 million earmarked for assistance to Afghanistan and its refugees sticks in his craw. "Why don't we look after our own?" he asks.

SHIFTING PRIORITIES

Q: As a result of the terrorist attacks and the U.S.-led response, have you experienced any of the following lately?





MacDonald and his colleagues collected $535,000 for fallen comrades in New York

Though Smith has taken a new interest in the wider world, he draws comfort from the near and dear—his wife of 26 years, his four children, aged nine to 21, and St. Joseph's, his Roman Catholic church. He has never left his home province, but his 17-year-old daughter has already been to England with the Sea Cadets. Now, to Smith's distress, she may join the navy after high school. This brings a distant war uncomfortably close to Harbour Grace. Asked his daughter's name, Smith grows protective. "I'm not releasing that information," he says, responding with the caution of a Pentagon spokesman. "You don't know who's on the other end of the phone. I'm only going on your word you're a news reporter."

Patricia Harrison, a 50-year-old autoworker living in Lakeshore, Ont., near Windsor, finds her 23-year-old son, a newly graduated engineer, is also considering a military career. Should that happen, "I will be very proud," she says. "Freedom comes at a cost." Harrison, a Presbyterian, says the crisis has drawn her deeper into her faith. She is trying to learn more about the Muslim faith and the battle-scarred history of Afghanistan and its extremists. "Even though it is very difficult, we must pray for our enemies," she says. "It's a huge test of faith."

On one October day, Vancouver's firefighters held out their rubber boots and raised $535,000 for their fallen comrades in New York. The amount was far beyond the expectations of Rod MacDonald, 46, president of the local firefighters' union. Since then, he estimates 200 members, one-quarter of the department, has visited New York at their own expense, as have police and firefighters from across Canada. They have attended funerals, paid their respects and delivered what he believes is a message to those responsible for such sorrow: "You will not beat us."

He'd wondered, visiting New York, how God could countenance such tragedy. Back in Vancouver, an answer of sorts, has appeared. MacDonald thinks people hug more than they used to. He thinks those who serve the community are accorded a respect that had "eroded" over the years. It is a small enough thing, but people wave at fire trucks again. It says to MacDonald that we've come though this intact—a finding that accords with *Maclean's* annual measure of the national mood. "I'm not a Sunday church-going person," he says. "The only thing that I can come up with that makes any sense is that it's a test. It's a test, and it's one that we can pass. And when we pass it, we're stronger as a community, and as individuals."

Maclean's YEAR-END POLL



Hunkering down

A majority of us consider layoffs a 'prudent' move



Getting back to business in New York City after the attacks

BY KATHERINE MACKLEM

Asked how many times he's been laid off, Lyle Olson starts counting out loud "One, two, three—three times. And I've been on job-share another three times," says the 45-year-old welder from Edam, Sask. He has lost holiday pay on two more occasions from companies that were close to bankruptcy, and he once quit a job rather than bounce out a friend who was about to be laid off "I've taken a beating," he says. Olson, who works in the notoriously cyclical oilpatch, fears he may soon be laid off for a fourth time Overtime shifts have been cancelled and the crew he works on—already a third of its former size—was sent home a week early for the holidays "Yes," he says, with surprisingly little rancour, "I am threatened."

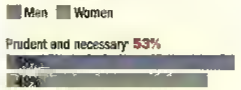
There's not even a sigh It's just the way it is Layoffs are a part of life. Business is driven by the ups and downs of the economy—and the labour force follows exactly the same track, says Olson, who with his wife, Sharon, has four children aged 11 to 19, and cares for three foster kids What's more, he says, companies that let employees go are usually doing the right thing: "There comes a point when you have to lay off."

In that view, he has a surprising amount of company Asked in the *Maclean's*/CBC News year-end poll if they think layoffs are prudent and necessary, or irresponsible and shortsighted, a majority of respondents (53 per cent) say prudent Even among those who worry they may lose their jobs—particularly in the 18- to 24-year-old crowd—the number of people who say cuts are prudent is higher than the number who call them irresponsible Allan Gregg, chairman of the polling firm The Strategic Counsel, expected respondents to take the opportunity with this question to pillory the corporate world Instead, he's "astounded" by the strong pro-business response

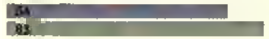
IN TRYING TIMES

Taking care of business

Q When businesses lay off staff because of falling demand for goods or services, do you see that as . . . ?



Percentage thinking the economy is heading into a recession: 55



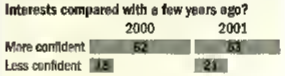
A tough year

Two questions repeated from last year reveal a gloomier outlook among Canadians

Q: Are you more optimistic or more pessimistic about the future than you were a decade ago?

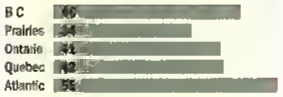


Q: Are you more or less confident about your ability to look after your own economic interests compared with a few years ago?



Workplace uncertainty

Percentage concerned that they or someone in their household will soon lose their jobs 42



The economy is souring And with it, so is the mood of Canadians During the past year, we've become increasingly pessimistic and lost confidence in our ability to manage our economic future. For the past three years—years marked, for the most part, by growth—concerns about health care and education have eclipsed economic worries as the most important issues facing Canada. But the tide has turned While only one in 10 respondents cited the economy as the most significant issue in 2000, this year it's one in four. Health care and education still top the list, but with just two-thirds of last year's support

People are heading into the coming recession "eyes wide open," says economist Judith Maxwell, president of the Canadian Policy Research Networks Canadians now understand much more than ever that the economy operates in cycles—a lesson driven home during the painful recessions of the early '80s and '90s. "If I think back to the 1970s," Maxwell says, "we had this sense of immunity We thought we'd beaten the business cycle"

Of course we were wrong. Today, three out of five Canadians know the economy is heading into a recession. Women, typically the more cautious gender, feel it more strongly than men—63 per cent versus 54 per cent. Clouds loom on the horizon, and a disturbing discord emerges: even though things feel better now, we fear they will get worse While more of us say our personal financial situation is better than it was 10 years ago, we're less confident than ever in the past decade that, as individuals, we can take care of our economic interests.

Yet we feel we have nowhere else to turn to do that job Canadians in strikingly high numbers—at 81 per cent—look primarily to themselves to take care of their economic interests Just three years ago, we expected business and government to play larger roles, although even then a solid 71 per cent of Canadians depended on themselves We're simply being realistic now, Gregg says "For 20 years, we've been told that government is slothful and inefficient,' he adds "And we've been told that business has got to go with the dictates of the marketplace People are saying, 'That's just the way it is'"

We're being *reasonable*—and accepting of things that have a significant impact on our lives but are seemingly out of our control. There is no lambasting of the powers that be—those politicians and business leaders who in previous decades were seen to be manhandling the controls of destiny. Even labour is onside "Workers accept layoffs as a reality," says long-standing labour leader Bob White, now president emeritus of the Canadian Labour Congress. "Militancy was never determined by fighting against layoffs. It was always trying to minimize the impact of layoffs" Workers are concerned about what happens to them and their families in a downturn, he adds, but they understand it. That, however, "doesn't mean they like it."

Blair Byrne is among the 38 per cent who consider layoffs in a shrinking market to be irresponsible and shortsighted. The spinoff effects of downsizing are unacceptable, says the 53-year-old, semi-retired Victoria resident "You're not gaining anything," he says "You're putting more people into lower income groups and on welfare" Byrne, who made a living driving taxis, buses and trucks, is troubled by severe arthritis He and his wife run a small handicapped-care facility in their home. Years ago, he says, he thought many workplaces were overstaffed. But he has changed his mind, and now believes that "to just go and lay off everybody because the economy has taken a downturn is not the answer"

Recent weeks have brought tidbits of positive economic news the markets turning back up, consumer spending encouraged by the lowest interest rates in 40 years But Ottawa economist Michael McCracken cautions against taking too much comfort. "Is what we're seeing now the dead-cat bounce?" he asks, evoking the image of a market and economy currently incapable of real recovery

Canada, McCracken says, is in a dangerous situation because the economy is still drifting downward A rising unemployment rate, regardless of the low level it is moving away from, makes consumers apprehensive As well, his studies show that Canadians' disposable income—the amount of money households have to spend and save after taxes—is "beginning to show tough edges." Only in 2000 did that key economic measure of consumer spending recover from two decades of taking a beating, finally regaining the level it was at in 1981. But the surge may be short-lived. "I am concerned," McCracken says, "that we're going back into a period of weakness I don't see any turnaround happening through some magical tool" Or any reason for the majority of us to change our minds about the tough times ahead.



Since Sept. 11

The responses show how terrorism and war have left their mark

Findings indicate percentage of respondents

GENERAL

What is the most important issue facing Canada today?

Health/education	25
Unemployment/economy	25
Sept. 11 attacks	11
Foreign issues	7
Government/government spending/deficit	5
Environment	3
Taxes	3
National unity	2
Crime/violence	1
Canada-U.S. relations	1
Other	4

Are you more optimistic or more pessimistic about the future than you were a decade ago?

More optimistic	38
More pessimistic	57

In the past 10 years has your personal financial situation gotten better or worse?

Better	37
Worse	28

Compared with a few years ago, are you more or less confident in your ability to look after your economic interests on your own?

More confident	63
Less confident	21

Who would you count on most to look after your economic interests?

Yourself	81
Business	7
Government	5
Unions	5

ECONOMY

If Canada and the U.S. were to go into a recession, how much would that be due to the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks and their aftermath?

A lot	19
Somewhat	36
Not much	25
Not at all	6

How concerned are you that you or someone in your household might become unemployed or laid off in the near future?

Very concerned	12
Somewhat concerned	24
Not very concerned	33
Not at all concerned	29

If you had the opportunity to become a citizen of the U.S. and live and work there, would you?

Yes	26
No	72

Which way would you say the economy is heading?

Improvement	10
Recession	58
No change	29

When businesses lay off staff because of a falling demand for their goods or services, is that prudent and necessary, or an irresponsible and shortsighted thing to do?

Prudent and necessary	33
Irresponsible and shortsighted	58

Was it appropriate for the federal government to urge Canadians to spend more as a way of stimulating the economy?

Yes	42
No	51

If the economy does go into a recession, which of these points of view best reflects your idea of how governments should respond?

Increase spending to stimulate the economy and create jobs

Spend more on social and retraining programs to assist those who lose their jobs

Government can't make any difference and should just let market forces run their course

Do you think Canada would benefit from having a common currency with the U.S.?

Benefit	40
Lose out	51

CANADA/U.S.

In the past few years do you think that Canadians have become more or less like Americans?

More like Americans	53
Less like Americans	17
No change	29

Are Canada and the U.S. like family to each other, the best of friends; friends but not especially close; cordial but distant with each other; or openly hostile and unfriendly?

Friends but not especially close	47
Best of friends	23
Cordial but distant	18
Like family	10
Openly hostile and unfriendly	1

Many Canadians say they feel a lot closer to the people of the U.S. following the Sept. 11 attacks. Which of these possible reasons best explains this feeling?

We share a common set of values and beliefs	38
We are facing a common threat	37
We are that together economically	23

TERRORISM AND THE AFTERMATH

Were the Sept. 11 attacks in New York City and Washington attacks on the U.S. alone or attacks on Western democratic societies, including Canada?

Attacks on the U.S. alone	12
Attacks on Western democracies	84

In light of the Sept. 11 attacks, should Canada re-evaluate its position regarding Israelis and Palestinians?

Yes	23
No	73

Do you think there is any basis for the grievances that some people in the Middle East feel towards the Western world?

Basis for grievances	63
No basis for those feelings	35

If the U.S. and its allies capture or kill Osama bin Laden and his network, will that end the terrorist threat by Islamic fundamentalists directed at the U.S. and the West?

Yes	5
No	93

Do you think the U.S. and its allies will eliminate the threat of terrorism from Islamic fundamentalists?

Completely eliminate	4
Somewhat eliminate	45
Fail to eliminate	50

How long do you think the war against terrorism will last?

A few months	9
A year	18
Two or three years	21
Four or five years	9
Six or more years	40

Has the federal government tended to be more supportive of Israelis or Palestinians, or equally supportive of both sides?

More supportive of Israelis	26
More supportive of Palestinians	3
Equally supportive	61

Is it likely that Canada could become a terrorist target?

Yes	58
No	41

Are you satisfied with the federal government's response to the Sept. 11 attacks?

Yes	66
No	33

How strongly do you support these possible responses by the federal government to the threat of terrorism?

STRONGLY SUPPORT / SOMEWHAT SUPPORT / NEUTRAL / LITTLE SUPPORT / NO SUPPORT

Introducing personal identity cards for all Canadian residents with a photo and a thumb print — 51 / 27 / 5 / 10 / 9

Sending anybody who claims refugee status without valid ID back to where they arrived from — 44 / 31 / 8 / 13 / 13

Having a common security perimeter around North America that would include allowing U.S. customs and immigration officials at all entry points into Canada — 31 / 28 / 9 / 14 / 15

Keeping all refugee claimants in secure locations with no contact with Canadian society until their cases have been heard — 31 / 27 / 12 / 16 / 11

Making Canadian and American immigration and refugee policy the same — 27 / 31 / 10 / 16 / 16

Restricting the number of immigrants from Muslim countries — 26 / 13 / 12 / 20 / 19

Are you confident the federal government could handle a threat of chemical or biological terrorism?

Yes	35
No	62

How do you feel about the federal government's anti-terrorism bill that gives the police new powers of detention and investigation, such as phone tapping?

Support	56
Oppose	41

How likely do you think it is that the police would abuse these new powers and use them against groups other than suspected terrorists?

Likely	66
Not likely	31

Are you worried that the war on terrorism could spark a larger war that might involve the use of nuclear weapons?

Greatly worried	25
Somewhat worried	36
Not much worried	21
Not at all worried	17

How likely are each of the following potential types of attacks on the U.S.?

Likely / Unlikely

Hijacking of jetliners for use as weapons — 78 / 21

Attack on a nuclear power station — 69 / 30

Serious chemical or biological attack — 68 / 31

Explosion of a nuclear device in a city — 65 / 34

Do you support or oppose Canadian involvement in the action in Afghanistan?

Strongly support	61
Somewhat support	35
Somewhat oppose	12
Strongly oppose	7

THE WAR

Which of these options is the Canadian Forces' main purpose currently, and what should the Forces' main purpose be?

Purpose is / Purpose should be

Peacekeeping around the world — 73 / 57

Providing defence and attack in different parts of the world — 12 / 23

Protect Canadians within country's borders only — 11 / 15

Do you approve or disapprove of the U.S. military action against terrorism?

Strongly approve	54
Somewhat approve	30
Disapprove	14

Are you worried that the war on terrorism will grow into a broader war with the U.S. and its allies on one side and Arabs and Muslims on the other?

Worried	64
Not worried	35

Should Canadians critical of the war effort keep their thoughts to themselves or speak out?

Keep thoughts to themselves	15
Speak out	82

As a result of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks and the U.S.-led response, have you changed plans or experienced any of the following lately?

Yes / No

Taken more interest in news reports	75 / 25
Been more appreciative of your family life	72 / 28
Had less interest in material wealth and possessions	26 / 73
Felt a stronger need for religious beliefs	23 / 77
Felt a stronger need to go to a place of worship	10 / 89
Cancelled or postponed a trip by air	14 / 86
Sought advice or read about how to protect yourself in the event of a terrorist attack	12 / 87
Had trouble sleeping	10 / 90
Deferred buying a major item	8 / 91
Been less driven to succeed at work	8 / 91
Been less interested in sex	5 / 95
Sought advice from a health-care professional or counsellor	4 / 97

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

STRONGLY AGREE / SOMEWHAT AGREE / SOMEWHAT DISAGREE / STRONGLY DISAGREE

Prefer Osama bin Laden be put on trial rather than killed — 9 / 16

Substantially increase spending on armed forces — 15 / 10

Give up some personal freedoms to combat terrorism — 15 / 19

Give up some of Canada's sovereignty to combat terrorism — 21 / 33

There's no need to spend much money on armed forces with the U.S. next door — 27 / 46

The attack on Afghanistan is not a war on terrorism but an attack on the Islamic people and culture — 17 / 62

Which of these options regarding Canada's potential role in the fighting in Afghanistan do you most support?

Only be used in a peacekeeping role once the fighting is over	37
Provide support services for those fighting, but not fight	31
Be involved in any fighting that takes place in Afghanistan	25
Play no role at all in Afghanistan	6

Would you support the U.S. using force against suspected terrorist targets in other Middle Eastern countries, including Iraq?

Support	36
Oppose	58

Would you support the U.S. conducting government-authorized assassinations of political figures known to support terrorist groups in the Middle East?

Support	47
Oppose	44

Have your views on Muslims and the Islamic religion changed as a result of the terrorist attacks?

Changed for the better	9
Changed for the worse	16
Unchanged	75

GLOBALIZATION

Government leaders from the industrialized world are meeting in Alberta in June to discuss trade issues. With anti-globalization protesters threatening to disrupt the meeting, there is a possibility of violent confrontations between police and protesters. Should the meetings... ?

Go ahead	37
Be cancelled	61

If there are demonstrations and confrontations between police and protesters at the Alberta meeting, what level of force should be used to control demonstrations? Should the police... ?

Use all the force necessary even if this could potentially lead to a loss of life? — 24

Not use all the force required to control the demonstrators even if this means the meetings are disrupted or cancelled? — 73

When a violent confrontation between police and anti-globalization protesters does take place, do you tend to blame the police more or the protesters?

The police	13
The protesters	63
Both	14

In the aftermath of Sept. 11, should the Winter Olympics go ahead as planned in Salt Lake City in February?

Go ahead	88
Postpone	10

THE 15TH ANNUAL *MACLEAN'S* YEAR-END POLL, prepared in partnership with CTV/CTV News, is based on telephone interviews with 1,200 Canadians 18 and older, selected randomly from all 10 provinces. Toronto-based The Strategic Counsel conducted the poll between Nov. 21 and 25. National results are considered accurate to within 2.8 percentage points, 19 times out of 20. Margins of error are wider for results from individual provinces, regions or other subgroups. Numbers in tables and charts are rounded off, and in most cases "don't know" and no-answer responses have been eliminated.

The most important job

Managing relations with Washington has become Ottawa's top priority

BY JOHN GEDDES In Ottawa



Doug Mills/AP Archive

Chrétien's early reaction to the attacks put his ambivalence to the U.S. on display

Having endured so long in politics, Jean Chrétien must wonder how many more years he has to hang in there to outlast the auras of prime ministers past. His third straight election majority was overshadowed as the defining political event of 2000 by the death of Pierre Trudeau. No doubt Chrétien didn't mind being upstaged one last time by a Liberal predecessor and old friend. But in 2001, it was the more subtle insinuation of Brian Mulroney's influence that wouldn't let Chrétien alone. And that has to rankle.

The reason Tory legacy must be considered again is Sept. 11. The terrorist attacks on New York City and Washington, of course, eclipsed every other event of the year. Parliament Hill was jolted into a fall flurry of activism. Underlying every rushed initiative—in immigration and refugee policy, defence and security and managing the border—was a fresh realization that, like it or not, managing Canada's relationship with the United States is often Ottawa's most important job. Mulroney faced that fact, all too enthusiastically for the comfort of many Canadians, and cajoled the country into free trade. Chrétien has tended to turn away from it.

His tentative early reaction to the attacks put his ambivalence towards the U.S. on public display. Chrétien had good reason to be uneasy about committing Canada unreservedly to following Washington's lead in a vaguely defined war on terrorism. It came off, though, as aloofness towards a friend in need. His lack of any personal rapport with George W. Bush, who clearly views Mexico, not Canada, as the key U.S. hemispheric relationship, didn't help. News that Mulroney had been on the phone, congratulating Bush just minutes after the President's historic address to Congress on the terrorist threat, reminded Canada's political class that ties between 24 Sussex Drive and the White House had once been much tighter.

The momentum of events soon pulled Chrétien's government closer to Mulroney's position than would have been conceivable in normal times. Foreign Affairs Minister John Manley set the tone with pro-U.S. pronouncements, and ended up signing a landmark deal to co-ordinate policy on tracking immigrants, refugees and visitors. And Manley was only the most prominent of the youngish club in Chrétien's cabinet and caucus who were eager to show that they do not share the aversion to American influence an earlier vintage of Liberal politicians had. Trade Minister Pierre Pettigrew mused about a wide-open border. MP Maurizio Bevilacqua, chairman of the Commons finance committee, pushed for even closer Canada-U.S. economic integration.

Given how thin Chrétien's domestic policy agenda has been, the shift towards a far more accommodating Liberal posture in Canada-U.S. relations was the most intriguing development of the year. How lasting it will be is another matter, but signs that this might be more than a passing phase are strong. Even before Sept. 11, key Liberals, such as policy guru David Zussman, were urging a frank look at strengthening bonds with the U.S. It is of at least symbolic importance that the notion of pegging the loonie to the U.S. dollar, once a fringe idea, has gone mainstream.

The new focus has ramifications beyond the Liberals and the anti-terrorism files. The regional tensions and provincial-rights beefs that animate the Canadian Alliance and the Bloc Québécois look like second-tier topics at best. The hard issues cut north-south, not east-west. How will we preserve a culture in the face of the masterful marketing of the U.S. entertainment industry? How can we exploit ever-freer trade and investment without being gulped whole by American enterprise?

Many Canadians would recoil at the thought of a return to Mulroney's personal pro-American style. But there's no getting away from the fact that his core preoccupation is back at the centre of federal politics. A creative prime minister might find in the Liberals' post-Sept. 11 policy patchwork the starting point for a new approach to the U.S. The question for 2002 is whether Chrétien is up to that challenge, or if he will leave it to his successor. M

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You merge with another company to reduce costs, but your systems can't integrate. Lose 2 turns.



You approve open standard software that lets you work freely with clients, suppliers and partners. Jump ahead 2.

You choose a technology partner with a proven track record and realize a rapid ROI. Go ahead 5.



You integrate your existing systems instead of scrapping them and save hundreds of thousands. Move ahead 3.



Your Web site crashes and your customers go elsewhere. Fall back 5.

START

Your IT manager talks about middleware and you know what it is. Go ahead 1.

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FINISH

You have an e-business with a great ROI!



You're out of data storage. Go back 1.

You start selling your goods online with a powerful new Web site. Go forward 2.

You rush to implementation without an e-business strategy. Go back to START.

Your previous decision to buy scalable servers pays off. Jump ahead 3.

Your system is insecure and hackers break in. Fall back 4.



You use e-business Hosting Services to focus on your business, not your technology. Jump ahead 1.

Your online sales are up. Supply costs are down. Move forward 2.



Your production line stops due to supply chain failure. Fall behind 6.

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HOUSEHOLD FEUDS

Sharing a continent with Americans is an exercise in tension management

BY NORMAN HILLMER AND J. L. GRANATSTEIN



Illustration for Maclean's by Allan Peters

Fifty years ago, Canada and the United States were at war together in Asia. But the Korean police action, as it was known at the time, put an enormous strain on a Canadian-American alliance forged in the Second World War and reinforced by the early Cold War years. The United States was the most powerful country in the free world, and it was also Canada's best friend. Americans did wonderful and generous things, but the flexing of their new muscle might have major consequences for the junior partner to the north. And, the junior partner feared, for the whole world.

American power, recalled Lester B. Pearson—then Canada's foreign minister—in his memoirs, could "commit us ... in vital decisions of war and peace." It was, he added, the cold, hard fact of Canada's postwar international existence. It "brought us anxiety as well as assurance."

Just as today, the anxiety came from fears that America might go it alone—or go too far. Pearson wanted a short war in Korea, and military operations that did not stray too close to North Korea's Chinese border. There, along the banks of the Yalu River, perhaps lay the potential spark of a third world war. When Pearson made his case for a modulated war effort, even as president of the United Nations General Assembly in 1952, Washington was dismissive. Secretary of State Dean Acheson protested loudly that the tricky Canadian was too soft, aiming at a settlement with the Communists that would weaken the West and injure U.S. interests. The Americans beat back Pearson's search for peace, but Acheson didn't forget and carried his annoyance all the way to his memoirs.

As the son of an Ontario clergyman, Acheson claimed to know the country well. Pearson's sermonizing about peace and restraint were, for him, completely in character. Canada was the overrighteous "stern daughter of the voice of God," and Canadians were "a tribal society, naive, terribly serious about the wrong things and not at all aware of their real problems. ... Their best move would be to ask us to take them over; and our best move would be to say, 'No.'"

Still, Acheson understood that Canadian "resentment against United States public policy and private interests has assumed considerable proportions." In the absence of "real difficulties," Americans "take Canada for granted, little realizing the intensity with which Canadians cherish their country's separate identity against the pervasive influence which seeps in from the south of them. Constantly threatened with inundation, their dikes are always leaking."

Despite the Acheson-Pearson tiff, the 1950s were a largely pro-American period in Canada. The next decades were not. During the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, Prime Minister John Diefenbaker questioned the judgment and truthfulness of President John F. Kennedy and refused to put Canada's air force on alert. By the end of the year, the two leaders had come to despise each other.

Just three months after the Cuban crisis, Kennedy's state department issued a news release denouncing Diefenbaker's inability to decide whether or not he would accept the nuclear weapons he had ordered for Canada's air defences. Pearson, now leader of the opposition, jumped on the pro-American bandwagon and rode it to power in the 1963 election. But there was deep anger at Kennedy's interference in Canadian politics. Charles Ritchie, the Canadian ambassador to Washington at the time, said it was "the most blatant, heavy-handed, intolerable piece of bullying. And who the hell do they think they are?"

Over the years that followed, the years of Vietnam, violence in American streets and Watergate, polls showed a progressive decline in Canadian trust of the United States. In 1976, 38 per cent of Canadians thought that the two countries were growing apart. By 1982, with the hawkish Ronald Reagan in office, the figure was a staggering 49 per cent. Dalton Camp, a Canadian who was raised in the United States, wrote on the eve of Reagan's 1980 election of an America "deeply disillusioned and torn by

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Essay



Kennedy denounced Diefenbaker over Cuba

dissent . . . How strange and unfamiliar it is to look upon the Great Republic without awe, admiration, or envy, but with unease, dismay and perhaps pity." Camp acknowledged the brief burst of good feelings for Canada's role earlier that year in spiriting U.S. hostages out of Iran after the fall of the Shah, but "despite the euphoria engendered by the Canadian caper . . . in the afterglow one sensed among many Canadians a growing unease, as though withdrawing from a too-warm embrace."

Ottawa caught the chill. Anti-Americanism helped turn Canadians into nationalists, ripe for measures such as Pierre Trudeau's National Energy Program, designed to wrest the oil and gas industry from foreign control. Before that, there had been the Foreign Investment Review Agency and Petro-Canada, responses to what Acheson had warned would be "considerable worry as to who, before long, is going to own Canadian resources and be in a position to direct Canadian economic policy."

Voters eventually fled the Liberals for Brian Mulroney. Very soon, however, many regarded him as an American lackey, captured by the image of political cartoonist Aislin's lawn jockey on the grounds of the White House. Free trade succeeded in 1988 despite the prime minister's unwholesome image as America's sure thing.

For every Canadian politician with an instinct for survival, the golden rule of Canadian-American politics has always been clear: keep close to the Yanks, but not *too* close. This in part surely explains Jean Chrétien's insistence on Canadian sovereignty and prerogatives in the wake of Sept. 11.

But distance is not, and cannot ever be, really possible. Tiffs between politicians, crises that ebb and flow, moral superiority on the Canadian side or thoughtlessness and ignorance from the south—none of these is very important in the final analysis. The two countries are inextricably interdependent and inter-vulnerable—in terms of trade, the border, defence. In the aftermath of the Canadian elections of 1891, 1911, 1963 and 1988, all of which aroused feverish emotions about the United States, it was immediately back to business. The national interest has always dictated co-operation, not confrontation. As the Canadian-born, Columbia University historian John Bartlet Brebner put it at the end of the Second World War, Canada and the United States are the "Siamese Twins of North America who cannot separate and live."

Canadians know this instinctively. The surprise of history is that Americans do too.

Norman Hillmer is professor of history at Carleton University in Ottawa. J. L. Granatstein is a Toronto historian. They are the authors of For Better or for Worse, *a study of Canadian-American relations*



The world in hand

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Two great advances have materialized as a result The world is smaller–you can reach almost anyone anytime anywhere And the messages are bigger–you can send encyclopedias of data, even real-time video

Now, the history of human communications has come down to this single point that mobile Internet device you hold in your hand

This year, North American business will watch as the science-fiction vision of the all-in-one communications device becomes everyday reality

"These are not daydreams, this is happening now," says Mark Henderson, president and CEO of Ericsson Canada, Inc "Our technology is helping our phone operator customers become powerful companies And they help their business customers become drivers of overall business productivity."

Henderson says businesses that fail to "rethink" their value propositions in light of these new products and services will find themselves falling behind in the year ahead

Getting the message

It starts easily enough with SMS–short messaging service Your phone already permits two-way text messaging Someone can send you a short text message You can reply from your phone

"SMS is at the core of it," says James Israel, Ericsson's director of product development for mobile Internet products "Being able to send data from a device you can tuck in your pocket is the heart of the revolution."

Israel says SMS has been wildly popular in Europe and Asia "I was in Europe recently and people are shooting messages all over the place"

The first SMS phones were one-way The message sender had to be sitting at a computer The receiver couldn't reply back from the handset Then came two-way messaging People could send text messages back and forth wherever they were But, in North America, you could transmit only to subscribers of the same carrier Rogers' technology was different from Bell's, and so on

The history of human communications has come down to the mobile Internet device

Phones in Europe work off the same platform–GSM North America has three mobile phone standards–GSM (Global System for Mobile Communications), TDMA (Time Division Multiple Access) and CDMA (Code-Division Multiple Access) This patchwork of standards made messaging services difficult to market and dramatically slowed messaging growth in Canada and the US

But for Canadians, that situation is finally changing In November, Canada's four wireless communications providers–Rogers AT&T Wireless, Microcell Connexions, Bell Mobility and TELUS Mobility–announced a joint initiative to permit inter-carrier messaging The network to which you subscribe will no longer matter–you will simply click in the text and fire off the message to the recipient's phone number

"That was great news because Americans only wish they had this kind of co-operation," says Bill Clarke, sales director for Sony Ericsson "Canada could achieve this breakthrough because we're a smaller country without as many operators Now Canada will be able to market SMS"

"It'll greatly strengthen the Canadian text messaging market," says Peter Barnes, president and CEO of the Canadian Wireless Telecommunications Association "It continues the long tradition of Canadian operators being at the forefront of North American wireless technology and enables participating carriers to launch new mobile applications and services that will reach the entire Canadian market"

Since the introduction of SMS service two years ago, the number of SMS messages has ballooned to about 16 billion a month worldwide Analysts expect that volume to grow "One reason it will grow is the improvement in the message itself," Israel says In particular, the depth of data is increasing The reason, Clarke says, is that SMS is being improved with Enhanced Messaging Service (EMS)

"That's where you can send animated graphics and music with your message," Clarke says "These changes are exciting because we know from the Japanese I-Mode experience this will be big I know cultures can be different, but teens are teens and they are heavily into this"

EMS builds on simple text messaging by adding various pre-fabricated "files" to "enhance" the user experience Users can swap these little additions and even make their own. For instance, you can send a "Happy Birthday" text message and include a graphic of a birthday candle, or the message can play the Happy Birthday tune

EMS runs on the same network as SMS, so operators aren't faced with significant upgrading issues and costs But EMS just sets the stage for what lies around the corner–MMS (Multimedia



The network to which you subscribe will no longer matter— you will simply click in the text and fire off the message

Messaging Service)

MMS lets the user send messages comprising a combination of text, sounds, images and video to MMS capable handsets. You could use it to create messages that resemble a multi-slide presentation, using as many slides as you like.

"Expect MMS to come into play in late 2002," Clarke says. "It requires more equipment on the carrier's side and the volume of info carried is heavier. But it is expected to impact business more than EMS."

Clarke says there are untold numbers of creative business applications of multimedia and messaging. For instance, Sony Ericsson markets a new digital camera that snaps on the bottom of a phone. "It stores five photos. You can send pictures off, via the phone, to any email address. That little advance alone can bring great changes in things like real estate. Agents don't have to drag buyers around. Agents could visit properties and send off photos to prospective buyers at their work desks."

The Next Generation

These kinds of messaging improvements are being powered by advances toward "third generation" networks–also referred to as 3G. Some say 3G represents a technology shift as important as the introduction of mobile phones two decades ago. It brings the data side of wireless communication into its own. Data traffic is expected to surpass voice traffic by 2003.

Data transmission speeds are much higher–about 50 times faster than current Internet phone today–in part because those non-voice bits of information you want to send across the country are now packet-switched, not circuit-switched.

While 3G networks will roll out in Canada over the next couple of years, Canadians do not have to wait to get the advantages of packet-switching for data devices. 2G networks can be enhanced by an overlay technology called GPRS (General Packet Radio Service). GPRS is sometimes called 2.5G. It isn't as fast as 3G, but it permits "always on" devices.

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Ericsson is the only supplier for all 2G and 3G mobile standards.

"Network operators can evolve their deployed technology any way they wish," Israel says. "We provide evolution paths from 2G to 2.5G and 3G systems covering CDMA, TDMA and GSM technology."

Worldwide, only North American service providers opted for TDMA and CDMA standards. Europe, Asia and the Pacific Rim had adopted GSM/GPRS standards. Because there are so many more GSM/GPRS networks around the world, more products had been developed for that standard – greater varieties of phone and other data devices and greater numbers of applications. Recognizing that the future pointed toward this unified standard and its faster speeds, Rogers deployed a new GSM/GPRS network to augment its former TDMA network.

Ericsson was the sole supplier. "We did that, end-to-end, the first 25 markets were completed in just 21 weeks," says Andy Swainson, vice-president of Ericsson's services business unit in Canada. Ericsson was also a major component in Microcell's deployment of GPRS last April.

In these next-generation networks, data devices are "always on." Most computers currently connect to the Internet through a dedicated line. This "pipe" must stay open during the time you are connected, regardless of whether you are actually using the Internet or not. Therefore, you pay for each second. But with packet-switched networks, you pay only for the actual use.

The savings can be substantial. Many business functions–like checking orders or sales statistics–actually contain very low data volumes.

Operator Expertise

Ericsson plans, builds and manages operator networks. "There are two core functions for us–roll-out and support," says Swainson. "Roll-out involves project management, engineering, the actual design and implementation. Support means being the people to call if there are problems."

Swainson's unit also provides other services critical to operators. "There's integration–where we take products that aren't necessarily Ericsson and integrate them into existent networks. There's telecom management services–those products that actually manage your network, monitor faults, change configuration, etcetera. And there's mobile Internet solutions–designing portal pages for our operator customers so their own customers can customize the little Web browsers on their phones."

Swainson says he expects Ericsson to see an increase in another kind of operator service–managed services. "That's the complete outsourcing of operator networks. It's already happening in Europe. It's a global trend." He says the service appeals to both new and established carriers. New operators benefit from services such as "build, operate and transfer"–where the service provider constructs a system and operates it until the new operator is ready to take it over.

But established and experienced operators are also interested, Swainson says. "They are looking to do what they do best–sell and market their products, which are air time, data services and phones. They

ericsson.com/mobilityworld

Part of the reason the mobile dream is finally becoming reality is the growing number of application developers. As more developers make useful applications for business and consumers, users get more value out of the product – and attract other users.

That's why Ericsson promotes developers through projects such as the Mobility World Web site. "We started it to stimulate developer growth in the mobility environment," says Nikos Katinakis, vice-president of technology for Ericsson's mobile Internet division. "We recognize that Ericsson can't do everything. We're not in the application development world. Besides, we know the best applications are often born in someone's garage."

The Internet itself was largely built by distributed networks of "garage hackers" creating small applications that cumulatively added to its power and popularity. Katinakis says it will be no different in the mobility world.

"We want to stimulate the market... to get developers together, let them talk about applications, even test them. Mobility World lets people ask questions. They come in and say, 'Hey, how does this work in the mobile environment?' Or, 'Will this idea even work?' Or, 'Can my Web-based application function properly if a mobile device goes into a tunnel?' They need our advice. And we need them."

Advertising Supplement

Ericsson Response

To diminish distant suffering, relief organizations must often move rapidly on the ground. The ability to move rapidly and effectively has evolved with communications technology.

"The first 12 to 24 hours of a crisis are most critical for saving lives," says Dag Nielsen, program director for Ericsson Response in Stockholm. "Food, transportation and medical aid has to be co-ordinated, but communications are often knocked out in crisis areas. Mobile and satellite communications can help relief teams."

Ericsson Response was launched in the spring of 2000. It is designed to enhance the speed and effectiveness of reactions to disaster in order to reduce human suffering. In times of disaster, Ericsson provides communications equipment, expertise and volunteers to leading disaster response organizations so that food and other supplies can get to people in hard-hit areas experiencing flood, famine or political upheaval.

"We believe there should be faster, more effective responses to disasters," says Helen Simpson, Ericsson's corporate citizenship program manager. "In Canada, Ericsson has partnered with the Canadian Red Cross as their prime communications supplier in the event of a disaster."

Simpson says companies need to work with experts in the field to make an effective contribution to disaster preparedness. That's why, in forming Ericsson Response, Ericsson partnered with the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) and the United Nations. The global initiative has already seen action in places like Algeria, Pakistan and El Salvador. Most recently, the World Food Program, a United Nations organization, has asked Ericsson Response to send a team to Kabul.

"This is part of Ericsson's global corporate citizenship platform," Simpson says. "Our belief is, when there is a human need to communicate, Ericsson is there."

In the fall of 1999 at the Telecom 99 conference in Geneva, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan asked the high-technology and telecommunications sectors for help in disaster communications. He requested donations of products and expertise and followed up by challenging the corporate sector, NGOs and the UN to work together on the question.

In his Millennium Report, Annan formally recognized Ericsson's commitment towards supporting the issue of disaster response.

Simpson says the formal establishment of Ericsson Response was a natural evolution. "There was a history of disaster response from local Ericsson offices around the world," she says. The Taiwan office, for instance, responded with communication aid when a massive earthquake devastated the country in 1999.

"We knew that the most valuable thing we could contribute was our expertise and our technology," says Simpson. "In this age, information is power. Sharing our knowledge and expertise in the area of communications can help people around the world. We're already located in more than 140 countries, so we have a wide base of expertise to pull from."

As globalization of economies extends the presence of multinational corporations into numerous cultures and countries, the awareness of disasters and interest in providing assistance is on the rise. "Corporate citizenship has evolved over the past decade to become more than philanthropy, cheque cutting and equipment donation,' says Simpson. "It means really being involved."

Find out more about Ericsson Response at http://www.ericsson.com/ericssonresponse

want to push out the management of the actual networks to someone else. That's where we come in."

Mobile Enterprise

While 80 per cent of Ericsson's business worldwide is in the operator segment, the company knows the business market is a prime driver.

"Business typically adopts new telecommunications technology before the consumer market," says Nicole Mumford, channel sales manager for Ericsson Enterprise. "We know how important the enterprise customers are–they make up about 50 per cent of subscriber revenues for operators–and we expect that to grow to 75 per cent quickly."

She says Ericsson works closely with operator customers and channel partners to help their enterprise customers get these new, sophisticated 3G-type services.

"We do that with technologies that can leverage any kind of carrier network," Mumford says. "For example, on the infrastructure side, enterprises have numerous communications products from wireless LANs to distributed antenna systems. These would be physical infrastructure components deployed on a customer's premises. Included in that mix is our PBX offering, the MD110. These products can interface with carrier networks and are enabled for the mobile enterprise. The key lies in the applications we can deliver for the Enterprise over this infrastructure, simply and seamlessly. What we are trying to do here is connect the Enterprise with the carrier to enable flexible communications."

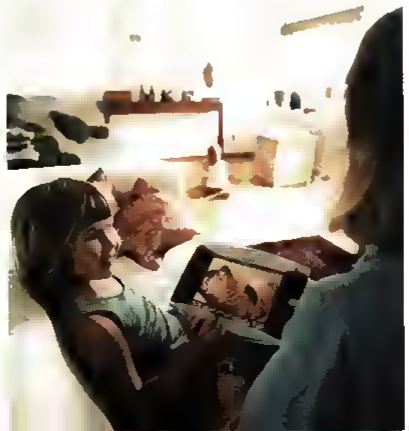
> Freeing people from the desktop PC ball-and-chain is the ultimate aim of wireless. People should be able to receive any kind of message—anytime, anywhere, and in any form they want.

[illegible] Warriors

"Packet-switching accounts for much of the increase in speed on next-generation networks," Israel says. "But businesses should realize it isn't the bandwidth itself that they are really buying with next-generation networks. You are buying an increased number of services. People on the road can do almost anything they can do back in the office. They can run almost any application."

In other words, freeing people from the desktop PC ball-and-chain is the ultimate aim of wireless. "People should be able to receive any kind of message–voice, email, fax, video," Mumford says. "And they should get it anywhere they are, at any time they choose, in any form they want. You want an email sent to a fax machine? Done. You want that voicemail sent to email? Done." That is the heart of the Mobile Enterprise, Mumford says.

"Telecom products provide core value proposition to businesses," says Nikos Katinakis, vice-president of technology for Ericsson's mobile Internet division. They offer immediate contact with and control over automated sales forces, asset management, work-order streamlining, truck fleets and repair personnel. "Instead of people having to go back to the office for the next order, instead of waiting to file expenses at the end of the week–all these tasks are done immediately," says Katinakis.



The benefits are twofold. First, the speed at which information can be transmitted permits organizations to react to circumstances more efficiently–with results such as better customer service. Second, it removes a layer of unnecessary administrative labor. Instead of paying someone to take in those weekly reports, the mobile Internet does it continuously. That labor expenditure can then go toward more productive targets.

"Many people think the mobile Internet means being able to get information from our phone or other devices," Katinakis says. "But that's not the whole picture. It's not about the user getting the information, it's about enabling the information to find the user."

It's the ability of the user having time-sensitive, location-aware, personalized content–adapted to a mobile device.

"For instance," says Katinakis, "if you walk into Nieman Marcus in New York, your location-aware phone would be detected. It would then be in the interests of the store to send you appropriate information. How 'real' is that? We're half-way there. We're waiting on the final piece–equipment that is truly location-aware. That is just now being deployed."

Ericsson's goal is to maximize the efficiency of mobile professionals in the Enterprise, Mumford says. "You want to enable everyone to work–no matter where they are, using the tools they like, from any place. That is the mobile enterprise."

Many of the mobile Internet tools are already in existence, such as mobile email and mobility enabled PBXs. "It's going to happen faster in Canada than in the US," Mumford says, "because we already have GSM/GPRS rolled out with CDMA2000 rollouts underway as well." It will all come to fruition, she adds, in the next 12 months. ■

Sony Ericsson
Mobile Communications

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Sony Ericsson is a fusion of powerful new technology, superior engineering expertise and a passionate commitment to personal creativity and self-expression.

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Sony Ericsson Mobile Communications was established in 2001 by telecommunications leader Ericsson and consumer electronics powerhouse Sony Corporation. The new company will create a new and powerful brand for its range of future products.

The first joint products will be announced in 2002, however both companies' product lines will remain through 2001 and will continue to be sold in 2002. Through the combined strengths of Sony and Ericsson and by being responsive to the market, consumer behavior and competitors, our goal is to become the number one player in mobile multimedia products.

For further information, please visit:
www.SonyEricssonMobile.com

Sony Ericsson

Essay

THE DEFINING BORDER

'It is physically invisible, geographically illogical and emotionally inescapable'

BY PETER C. NEWMAN



Illustration for Maclean's by Allan Main

We casually call it the 49th parallel, yet the boundary that divides Canada from the United States runs along that oft-cited latitude only from Middlebro, Man., to White Rock in British Columbia. The seriously urbanized areas of Ontario and Quebec (including Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal), plus most of the Maritimes and the more populated parts of Vancouver Island, lie well south of that demarcation line.

Until Sept. 11, such mundane facts, like the border itself, barely intruded into the Canadian consciousness. But the siege mentality of the Bush White House has turned that meandering boundary into North America's hottest political issue. It has unexpectedly become the fighting ground for Canada's future. Washington's pressure tactics to impose its rules threaten to define the limits of our citizenship by demoting Canada to a junior partnership in a political entity known as the NAP—the North American Perimeter.

In the tranquil past, Americans seldom contemplated their northern boundary. They viewed the land that lay north of the dividing line as America's attic—taking their sparsely populated garret for granted, unless Canadians made too much noise to be ignored. But for some of us, as concerned and sympathetic as we may be about keeping out potential terrorists, giving up control over that geographical and psychological barrier that delineates our subcontinent is too high a price to pay.

Our border has defined us. It has been the symbolic barrier that created us as a people, separating us from the compatible but far from identical society to our south. Canadian diplomat Hugh Keenleyside best defined the border, when he wrote in 1929: "It is physically invisible, geographically illogical, militarily indefensible, and emotionally inescapable."

"The United States," as former federal Social Credit leader Robert Thompson said in 1963, "is our friend, whether we like it or not." True enough. But that doesn't make us the same, nor should it allow them to ignore our differences.

The Canadian frontier was settled, first by the Hudson's Bay Company fur trading posts, then by Canadian Pacific Railway construction sheds, and finally by the influx of that most quintessential of Canadian institutions, bank branches. By the time the first wave of immigrants arrived, they found themselves in a field office environment that demanded deference to well-entrenched authority. No Wild West for us.

In contrast, the Americans fought for their independence, then waged a bitter civil war to restructure their society. Their frontier was ruled by a gunslinger mentality that challenged authority and made a virtue of the "every-man-for-himself" Darwinian ethic that still governs their actions.

In contrast, we sleep-walked into independence in 1867, having dispatched an alcoholic prime minister to bargain with British statesmen anxious to jettison the burden of administering a troublesome and troubled colony.

Those divergent beginnings still colour our nationalities. Our inglorious past endowed us with a passive sense of patriotism that stresses collective survival over individual excellence. Lacking any manifest destiny to spur us on, we huddle together, living out the notion that competition counts for less than compassion.

All that may be ancient history, but in the process two disparate societies have evolved on either side of the border whose status is now in play. For the first time since that demarcation line was initially drawn up after the Treaty of Paris in 1763, its stewardship is in dispute.

Determined by the Sept. 11 massacre to keep potential terrorists at bay, the Americans are demanding that Canada adopt common standards of immigrant admission and rejection. Their intent is honourable, their priority is urgent, but their ultimate impact threatens to transform the twin nations that share the upper half of the North American continent into one.

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Essay

profoundly significant values set us apart. Simply put, Americans and Canadians have adopted a markedly different way of looking at the world. Whatever his failings, George W. Bush personifies both the newly aggressive American stance in international issues and the Imperial Presidency. It's his way or no way.

A few examples:

- During a recent United Nations session on moving forward on the sensitive, comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty, John Bolton, U.S. undersecretary of state for arms control, boasted about the fact that his vote was recorded (148-1) as the sole dissenting.
- The Americans continue to be the only major power that refuses to support former foreign affairs minister Lloyd Axworthy's push for a global treaty banning the use of landmines, which maimed so many of the young in Third World countries.
- President Bush rattled the international community when he withdrew U.S. support for the Kyoto Accord, which calls for a 5.2 per cent reduction, by 2012, of 1990 levels of emissions that cause global warming.
- Similar unilateral American vetoes have been aggressively pursued on such issues as the establishment of a permanent International Criminal Court; disallowance of the international trade in small arms; putting into practice a system of effectively banning biological weapons. On these and other equally urgent topics, Canada and the U.S. are dug in on opposing sides.



Jacques Boissinot/CP Archives

Before Sept. 11, the border was not a serious issue

These are differences not of ideology, but of humanitarian values, and they're well worth preserving. It is only by perpetuating our border as a meaningful barrier that we can retain the political will to back such initiatives. Canadian rules for the admission of immigrants and refugees ought to be just as tough as those of the U.S., but they must remain ours to formulate and impose.

Canada may be a loose federation of wildly diverse regions on the margin of the civilized world, but there is a quiver of common intent which holds us together: that no matter how tempting it may be, we do not want to become Americans. Maintaining an effective border between us remains essential to Canada's survival.

By year's end, it is clear that the pivotal Canadian political debate of 2002, and the election that will follow two years later, will be the stark choice between total economic and, eventually, political integration with the United States, or holding on to what remains of our political independence—and fighting for more.

The influential Commons finance committee has already recommended harmonization of Canadian and American policies on just about everything, and the idea is gaining currency inside the Chrétien cabinet and among Ottawa's senior civil servants. "It kind of sounds like there would be no country left," comments one of the few influential dissenters, John McCallum, the former Royal Bank chief economist and parliamentary secretary to Finance Minister Paul Martin.

Former prime minister Brian Mulroney has advocated a customs union with the U.S. that would virtually eliminate the border. His call for such a drastic expansion of the original U.S. Free Trade Agreement that he negotiated in 1988 would eliminate any meaningful Canadian control of our border.

This is no academic exercise. The rocket-thrust of America's political, military and cultural imperatives is preparing to suck us into a dependency so profound that Canada would exist in name alone. In such a doomsday scenario, our only remaining distinction would be the right to celebrate Thanksgiving twice a year.

It hardly seems worth the trouble. m



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IMAGES2001

In the year everything changed, this was the moment. The second plane hit the second tower, and the awful realization took hold. Terror. Attack. War. Now, there was only one story.



IMAGES2001 DEVASTATION







Photographs: © Lung Magnin/Sygma (1); © Reuters/Popperfoto/Stan Honda/AFP

The scenes have been burned into memory. The ghastly destruction around the World Trade Center, photographed on the morning of Sept. 11 from a still-burning building in the complex **(left)**. The terrified people who couldn't get out **(top)**. The anguish for those who escaped **(above)**.



IMAGES2001HEROES

The most remarkable element of the trade centre tragedy—horrific as it was—was how many escaped. At least 20 000 people were probably in the complex when the planes hit yet the death toll by last week had dwindled from the feared 7 000 to exactly 3 000. The time of day and occupants' preparedness due to a 1993 terror attack, were part of the reason. But the heroic work of the emergency crews was critical. After the buildings' collapse, 343 firemen were counted lost—fully 11 per cent of the total dead.

IMAGES2001WAR



Gary C. Knapp/AP



Sailors aboard the aircraft carrier USS Theodore Roosevelt left Norfolk, Va., eight days after the attack, bound for the Arabian Sea and the impending battle for Afghanistan. The carrier's fighter jets would pound Taliban and Al-Qaeda targets well into December



IMAGES2001 AFGHANISTAN

The war started slowly, but the Northern Alliance didn't lack for spirit. These fighters were returning from an early October clash as the U.S. took control of the skies.

Gleb Garanich/Reuters



IMAGES2001 CHALLENGE



IMAGES LEADERSHIP

In Canada the war hit home. Leading Seaman Kelvin Hinchbury **(above)** one of 1,500 members of the Canadian Forces to join the effort, got a hug from his five-year-old daughter Megan before his ship left Halifax. Americans were mysteriously targeted by mail carrying deadly anthrax, much of it postmarked at a Trenton, N.J., post office **(top)**

What a difference a war makes. Right up to Sept. 10, American commentators were still forcefully questioning George W. Bush's leadership qualities, not to mention his claim on power given his super-tight election. But his resolute handling of the terror crisis genuinely impressed many of the President's critics and sent his approval rating soaring



IMAGES 2001 MIRACLE





IMAGES 2001 CONSEQUENCES

In February 13-month-old Erika Nordby slipped out a door clad only in a T-shirt and diaper and spent the night in Edmonton's 24°C cold. Frozen and clinically dead, she was rushed to hospital—where she miraculously recovered **(top)**. By June, she was fine, but mom Leyla **(above)** was dogged by accounts of her past as a prostitute and drug user

British farmers lost 4 million cattle, sheep and pigs slaughtered and burned **(top)** to stop foot-and-mouth disease. California congressman Gary Condit **(above)** tried to stave off questions about his relationship with intern Chandra Levy, still missing last week. Terrorist Timothy McVeigh **(left)** was finally executed for the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing

IMAGES2001POLITICS

Stockwell Day's year could have been better: 13 of his Canadian Alliance MPs walked out, the party forced a leadership race on him, and the Liberals were still riding high

IMAGES2001PROTEST

The Summit of the Americas in Quebec City became a battleground as hard-core anti-globalizat on demonstrators confronted police wielding tear gas and batons



IMAGES2001 STRIFE

They were only schoolgirls but that didn t protect them from Belfast s hatreds As sectarian tensions rose in the divided Ardoyne area Protestant residents subjected girls arriving at the Catholic Holy Cross Primary School to a daily cascade of taunts and abuse amid a massive police presence Politicians eventually worked out a peace deal



IMAGES2001 DIVERSIONS

Beyond the year s grief there was the fun After the last game of his stellar 22-year career Ray Bourque of the Colorado Avalanche finally joyfully lived his dream he hoisted his first Stanley Cup **(top)** In London, 12-year-old actor Daniel Radcliffe **(above)** was just starting out, riding the frenzy created by his on-screen character Harry Potter

IMAGES 2001 FAREWELL

Mordecai Richler (right), 70, giant of letters, scourge of the pompous **Jack Lemmon (far right),** 76, half of *The Odd Couple* (1968) and an actor in full **George Harrison (bottom),** 58, the quiet Beatle whose music spoke so loudly **Ernie Coombs (bottom right),** 73, Mr. Dressup to legions of Canadian kids for 29 years. **(Left to right) Isaac Stern,** 81, master violinist. **John Lee Hooker,** 83, legendary Mississippi Delta bluesman. **Aaliyah Haughton,** 22, budding R&B diva. **Anthony Quinn,** 86, born Mexican, forever Zorba the Greek. **Al Waxman,** 65, King of Kensington and of stage and screen. **Perry Como,** 88, smooth, ever-sweatered crooner. **Carol Anne Letheren,** 58, Canada's Olympic chief. **Jason Robards,** 78, gravel-voiced stage and screen star (*All the President's Men*).





And **Yvonne Dionne,** 67, one of the famed Ontario quintuplets, two remain. **Malak Karsh,** 86, photographer whose floating Ottawa River logs graced the old $1 bill. **Charles Templeton,** 85, Toronto journalist, politician, commentator and one-time evangelist. **Moe Koffman,** 72, jazz flutist and composer. **Louis Dudek,** 83, influential Montreal poet. **David McTaggart,** 68, co-founder of Greenpeace in Vancouver. **Charles Daudelin,** 80, Quebec painter and sculptor. **Arthur Martin,** 87, often considered Canada's greatest criminal defence lawyer. **Juliette Huot,** 89, matronly Quebec stage actress. **Gordon Donaldson,** 74, TV correspondent and author of *The Prime Ministers of Canada*. **Katharine Graham,** 84, socialite turned widow turned fearless publisher of *The Washington Post*. **Nguyen Van Thieu,** 78, South Vietnamese president from 1967 to Saigon's fall in 1975. **Dr. Christiaan Barnard,** 78, South African surgeon who made the first successful heart transplant. **Donald Woods,** 67, anti-apartheid newspaperman whose story was told in *Cry Freedom*. **Stanley Kramer,** 87, socially conscious American director (*High Noon, Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*). **Carroll O'Connor,** 76, unforgettably Archie Bunker. **John Phillips,** 65, co-founder of the 1960s pop band the Mamas and the Papas who wrote *Monday, Monday* and *California Dreamin'*. **Chet Atkins,** 77, guitarist extraordinaire. **Troy Donahue,** 65, 1960s screen heartthrob. **Dale Evans,** 88, co-star of countless westerns with husband Roy Rogers. **Imogene Coca,** 92, TV dancer and actress (*Your Show of Shows*, 1950s). **Jose Greco,** 82, flamenco dancer supreme. **Victor Borge,** 91, comic pianist. **Willie Stargell,** 61, Pittsburgh Pirates slugger. **Maureen Reagan,** 60, outspoken daughter of Ronald Reagan and actress Jane Wyman. **Mary Kay Ash,** 83, flamboyant, pink-loving founder of a cosmetic empire. **Sir Peter Blake,** 53, New Zealand yachtsman and environmentalist. **Pauline Kael,** 82, longtime doyenne of film critics from her perch at *The New Yorker*. **Robert Ludlum,** 73, master of suspense fiction. **Eudora Welty,** 92, southern U.S. writer. **Douglas Adams,** 49, British-born author of sci-fi satire *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy*. **Sir Harry Secombe,** 79, co-star of the BBC's madcap radio comedy *The Goon Show*. **Auberon Waugh,** 61, acerbic British writer, satirist. **Hank Ketcham,** 81, creator of *Dennis the Menace*. **William Hanna,** 90, co-creator of Tom and Jerry, Yogi Bear et al. **Herbert Block,** 91, *Washington Post* cartoonist known as Herblock, who coined the term "McCarthyism." **Jim Proudfoot,** 67, longtime Toronto sports columnist. **Jim Coleman,** 89, longtime Vancouver sports columnist. **Doug Collins,** 81, xenophobic B.C. commentator.





Top: Christopher Morris/Corbis/Magma. Middle: AP/Lacy Atkins/AP/Jim Cooper/AP/Wyatt Counts/AP/CBC Still Photo Collection, Toronto/Corbis/Magma/Peter Bregg/Maclean's, Warner Bros./AP Archive. Bottom: Bettmann/Corbis/Magma/CBC



Donald Coxe

The Tiny Tim market

This is the time when we are accustomed to hear laments from religious figures that commercialism has taken "Christ out of Christmas." They complain that all the hype for lavish Christmas gifts, big Christmas bonuses and expensive Christmas parties makes this a season of greed run amok. (One of the few apparently religious billboards I saw in Chicago last Christmas showed a peaceful pastoral scene with the words "Silent Night" in large print. When we drew closer I saw that the sponsor was Beano, a flatulence remedy.)

The good news is we aren't hearing those complaints this time. The bad news: there is so much truly bad news that excess isn't a big problem. Terrorism, war, bear markets, recession and unemployment have cut into available supplies of greed and overindulgence (G&O).

Indeed, the last outposts of G&O seem to be in the U.S. capital markets. Stocks have been on a roll, led by the technology group. The price-earnings ratio on the Standard & Poor's 500 index is at or near an all-time high, based on the last 12 months' earnings. As for Nasdaq, happy days are here again, and the price-earnings ratio is back over 100. It's as if the bear market never happened and ardent investors believe youth's first rapture can be recaptured. Bonds have been bashed, as investors anticipate a roaring economic recovery.

Last Christmas, investors were giving each other books that sanctified Federal Reserve chairman Alan Greenspan. He was cast as the magician who could keep the economy on a boil and inflation on the back burner. After 11 rate cuts this year, he should be seen as Santa, but instead he is viewed as someone who read his own hagiographies too lovingly.

Without a belief in an omniscient Greenspan, investors are thrown on the tender mercies of economists and strategists. Fortunately, they are resolutely bullish, so the background noise is comforting.

Those who seek to divine the future from the market's own entrails are conflicted. They know that, as a general rule, stock bulls gambol most happily when there are also bond bulls basking in the sunlit uplands. It's a high-risk pastime to be a stock bull when the lea is littered with the carcasses of bond bulls—and bond bears are populous, fat and belching contentedly.

The sudden bear attack on bonds since Nov. 1 is of historic proportions. Yields on long-term treasuries have climbed from 4.78 per cent to 5.63 per cent amid plunging prices. (Bonds trade inversely to yields.) The last time American bonds fell so hard and so fast was in early 1994, and that bear attack turned out to be the birth of the worst bear market for long treasury bonds since 1927. No surprise that 1994 was also the worst year of the 1990s for U.S. stocks.

So what are these contradictory markets saying? O come all ye faithful back into tech stocks, because that 70-per-cent Nasdaq collapse was just a bad dream? Joy to the world, the recovery is come?

Investing in stocks or long-term bonds is, truly, a faith-based initiative. One must have faith that, over the longer term, these investments will deliver returns that reward those who assume the risk of plunking their money down at a time of enormous uncertainty.

Investing is a matter of faith. So what are these contradictory markets saying? Joy to the world, the recovery is come?

Since at least the Second World War, the American consumer has never been so heavily indebted. Nor, in that time, has the American consumer owned such a low percentage of the value of his/her home (net of mortgages). Nor, in that time, have American corporations been so deeply indebted (relative to cash flows).

This recovery will, therefore, lack the vigour and verve of previous snapbacks. That long tech-buying binge (stocks and hardware) has left the private sector looking collectively as bleary-eyed as the worst drunk at the old-style office Christmas party and as obese as Santa, but without Dasher, Dancer et al to get things moving.

Not to worry: a slow, measured pickup can lay the groundwork for a long recovery. That kind of economy is good for bonds, and this means a positive feedback loop between bond bullishness and stock bullishness will probably develop sometime in 2002. Nor will that kind of measured gait reawaken the sleeping ghosts of inflation.

Indeed, 2002 could be a surprisingly good year for Canada, relative to the U.S. As the U.S. emerges from its recession, the entire global economy will follow. A synchronized global recovery will melt commodity inventories, bringing smiles to long-suffering producers in Quebec, Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia.

Meanwhile, the Bush administration will continue with its measured response to the horrors of 9/11. As it cleans out terrorist nests, people will begin to feel more secure about travelling, and that will mean a pickup in bookings at resorts across the land. All in all, a cheery outlook. As Tiny Tim would say, "God bless us, every one."

Donald Coxe is chairman of Harris Investment Management in Chicago and Toronto-based Jones Heward Investments.

Tech Explorer

Getting carded

This Christmas, no doubt some Canadians have given their highly caffeinated loved ones the Starbucks Card, a loyalty ploy with a difference. It's part of a growing trend among retailers like Gap, which uses magnetic-stripped cards as gift certificates at its clothing outlets. In late November, Starbucks Coffee Co. introduced the first food-and-beverage card for cashless payment. Bill Winkelman, the program's Seattle-based director, says the goal is to reduce the time spent in lineups. "It's a convenience," he says, "for customers who do not want to have to pull change out every day for a low-ticket item."

People buy the card at Starbucks outlets across Canada and load it with a value of up to $500, paid on the spot. The next time they order a grande, decaf, low-fat, no-foam latte, all they do is swipe the card—without even entering a security number—making payment faster than cash, debit or credit. Each purchase is deducted from the card until the value is used up.

But be careful. Once you put money on a card, the only way to get it back is to spend it all at Starbucks. (There's a 1-800 line for refunds if you have your receipt and haven't used any portion of the card.) And anyone can use it, including coffee-loving thieves. After a year of inactivity, Starbucks will deduct $2 a month until there's nothing left—the cost, the company says, of maintaining dormant accounts. Given people's thirst for high-octane coffee, accounts will likely be anything but dormant.



COOL SITE

Animals from space

Satellite telemetry is usually reserved for scientists, but children from Grade 6 to Grade 9 are encouraged to learn how space is used to track threatened creatures at *www.spaceforspecies.ca*. The site focuses on the leatherback turtle, caribou, polar bear and the common and king eider, two Arctic-nesting sea ducks. Students can track the animals using data from the Argos satellite or view pictures from space to observe the effects of environmental changes on migratory patterns.

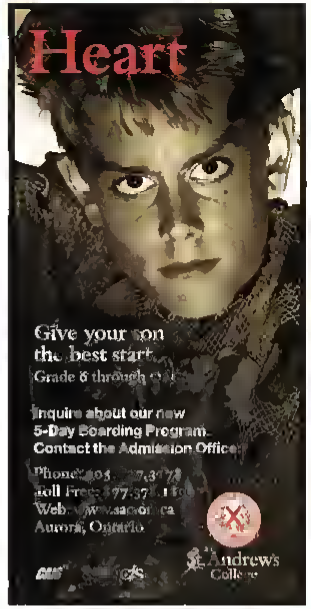


Sensible type

Touch-typists take note: you may soon be able to type without a keyboard. Stockholm-based start-up Senseboard Technologies AB makes two sensors which fit snugly over each hand at the knuckles. The Senseboard virtual keyboard monitors each finger movement, allowing users to type on any surface as if there were a keyboard, relaying each keystroke to a handheld computer or smart phone via radio waves. Organizers of Comdex, the annual high-tech extravaganza in Las Vegas, recently bestowed Senseboard with their Best New Technology award. The company expects its product to go on sale this spring.

Danylo Hawaleshka

Photo illustration for Maclean's by Claudia Dávila.



Scents Sensibilities

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Films BRIAN D. JOHNSON

Bumping into Neverland

2001, a movie odyssey: moments of truth in a sea of storybook fantasy

Once again, the movies have us surrounded. For months, we complain that there's nothing out there. Then, in a last-minute binge of Christmas largesse, Hollywood goes to town, unleashing a bounty of "prestige" pictures in a rush at the end of the year, hoping they'll stay fresh in the minds of Oscar voters. Recently, we previewed *Ali*, *The Lord of the Rings*, *A Beautiful Mind*, *Vanilla Sky*, *Ocean's Eleven* and *Gosford Park*. Now, we'll look at a final batch of holiday fare—*The Shipping News*, *The Royal Tenenbaums*, *The Majestic*, *In the Bedroom* and *No Man's Land*. But first let's look back over the year and take stock.

In 2001, when one event eclipsed all others—a horrific reality that everyone agreed was "like a movie"—the movies were more removed from reality than ever. This was a year of storybook fables set in fantastic worlds. *Harry Potter* and *The Lord of the Rings* are the most obvious examples. But even the most urbane romances were staged in mythical playgrounds, from the hyper-stylized Paris of *Moulin Rouge* to the postcard Paree of *Amélie*. Between their two Lost Girl heroines—Nicole Kidman's vamping courtesan and Audrey Tatou's kitten-cute gamine—it's as if Neverland had opened a franchise in Montmartre.

While the faux bohemians of *Moulin Rouge* chased the Green Fairy of absinthe through Paris, a robo-boy with no parents looked for the Blue Fairy in *A.I.*'s drowned Manhattan. Steven Spielberg's *Tin Man* search for a heart left us cold, but *A.I.* provided the template for a year in which film after film floated in a twilight zone between dream and reality—mind-game movies such as *Mulholland Drive*, *Waking Life*, *Vanilla Sky*, *Memento* and *The Others*.

It was also a year in which the screen became a virtual refugee camp of orphaned children and bereaved families. In *Life as a House*, a son watches his dying father build a dream home on a cliff, and in *The Shipping News*, a father who's lost his wife and parents looks for answers in another cliffside house. Parents dealing with the death of a child recurred in no less than three movies. *The Pledge*, *In the Bedroom* and *The Son's Room* (which won the Palme d'Or in Cannes but has yet to be released here). Grief and vengeance, now the twin towers of emotion in America, galvanized extraordinary performances from Jack Nicholson (*The Pledge*) and Sissy Spacek (*In the Bedroom*)—but with moral implications more ambiguous than those at work in Afghanistan, or Middle-earth.

On a lighter note, it was a banner year for heist movies. As the economy slid into recession, good guys got away with robbing the rich in *The Score*, *Heist*, *Bandits* and *Ocean's Eleven*—all riffs on vintage formula—while the Brits revived gangster kink with *Sexy Beast* and *Snatch*. Everywhere nostalgia ran thick and fast. Bob Dylan was ubiquitous on sound tracks, movies were rife with allusions to François Truffaut, and even Jean-Luc Godard found a sweet spot for the past with *Eloge de l'amour*, a masterpiece still awaiting North American distribution.

Now, the latest offerings.

The Royal Tenenbaums juggles surreal whimsy and emotional truth more artfully than any movie this year. Directed by Wes Anderson (*Bottle Rocket*, *Rushmore*), this off-kilter comedy about a family of genius eccentrics unfolds like a pop-up book of a J. D. Salinger novel. In fact, the narrative progresses in chapters, with the camera scanning each opening paragraph on a page. But there's no book: the movie is based on an original screenplay by Anderson and *Rushmore* co-writer Owen Wilson, who also figures in the ensemble cast.

Set in a mythically enhanced Manhattan, the film starts out much like *Amélie*, with a long, dizzying sequence of narration and montage that zip through the family's early history. Cut to the present. The Tenenbaum kids, all child prodigies, are grown up and screwed up. Chas (Ben Stiller), a financial whiz who lost his wife in a house fire, is a paranoid parent of two boys with identical perms and red track suits. Margot (a grim, kohl-eyed Gwyneth Paltrow) is an award-winning playwright unhappily married to an older man (Bill Murray). Margot's adopted brother, Richie (Luke Wilson), a washed-up tennis champion, is in love with her. So is a family friend, Eli (Owen Wilson), a space cowboy who writes western novels—imagine Cormac McCarthy on mescaline.

At the heart of the movie is Royal Tenenbaum, a roguish patriarch played with singular finesse by Gene Hackman. Estranged from his children, divorced from his wife (Anjelica Huston) and broke, Royal tries to reunite his family by pretending he's dying of cancer. Balancing vitriol and sentiment like so much nitroglycerine, Hackman makes a farfetched character oddly credible. It's a thrill to see him unshackled from formula thrillers.

Some of the other actors seem trapped in caricature, prisoners of Anderson's sublimely composed dollhouse dioramas. But the movie keeps slipping into unexpected wells of emotion. Suddenly, you find yourself absorbed in a long, tender scene with Hackman and Huston. Or hiding out with Paltrow in a yellow pup tent in a bedroom as an early Stones song plays on vinyl: in the corner of the frame, you watch the needle come to the end of the track, then you wait for the next song, *Ruby Tuesday*. It's a moment of pure magic.

The Majestic, another storybook fable, tries to manufacture magic with less success. Set in the 1950s, and directed by Frank Darabont (*The Green Mile*), it's a Capraesque tale of a Hollywood screenwriter (Jim Carrey) who is blacklisted during the McCarthy witch-hunt. Fleeing town, he drives his car off a wet bridge and is washed up in a strange town with his memory erased. The townsfolk become convinced that he's Luke, a local war hero long presumed dead even by his father (Martin Landau) and fiancée (Laurie Holden). Giving new life to this Norman Rockwell community, "Luke" helps reopen the family business, a movie theatre called The Majestic. But eventually, Carrey's character has to face the McCarthyite music, and the movie turns into a banal anthem of liberal propaganda.

The Majestic could have been tailor-made for the current war effort. Carrey,





Hackman makes a farfetchad character oddly credible; Carrey (left) gets earnest



BETWEEN THE ROCK AND A HARD PLACE

It's based on a book by a woman from Wyoming, is directed by a Swede and features American, British and Australian stars. But no Hollywood movie has gone further than *The Shipping News* in magnifying, and venerating, a piece of Canada without passing it off as someplace else. That piece, of course, is the Rock. In bringing E. Annie Proulx's Pulitzer Prize-winning novel to the screen, Lasse Hallström has crafted a richly evocative picture full of gentle charm and stark beauty. After the sugar spun artifice of *Chocolat* and the overripe drama of *The Cider House Rules*, Hallström finds a subtle naturalism in *The Shipping News*. And the performances from the actors who headline his cast—Kevin Spacey, Julianne Moore and Judi Dench—are so deliberately understated it's as if everyone is deferring to the raw magnetism of the movie's ultimate star: Newfoundland.

And personifying the Rock is native son Gordon Pinsent. Cast in a supporting role as local newspaperman Billy Pretty, he's the tether that moors the story to its location. Pinsent quietly steals his scenes with a droll humour that spreads through the film like a shot of single-malt scotch. It's a pity his part isn't larger, and that Hallström didn't see fit to use more Newfoundland actors.

The script offers a faithful rendering of Proulx's story, while both condensing and embellishing it. Quoyle (Spacey) lives a drone-like existence as an ink-setter at a newspaper in upstate New York. After a car crash kills his white-trash wife—Cate Blanchett in a brief, blazing tour de force—he's devastated. A wily aunt (Dench) drags him back to his ancestral home in a Newfoundland outport. There, with a young daughter in tow, Quoyle lands a reporting job at *The Gammy Bird*, falls for a day-care worker named Wavey (Moore), and unravels his family's gothic past.

As the movie's gormless hero, Spacey inverts his usual glib persona. But there's something mannered about his minimalism. He creates a character so deliberately vacant and slow-witted that, behind the concave performance, the ermature of intelligence shows through. Among the actors who play Quoyle's cronies at the newspaper, Scott Glenn delivers true grit as owner Jack Buggit, a scowling Pete Postlethwaite is Tert, his managing editor, and Rhys Ifans adds comic spark as the shipwrecked Brit, Nutbeem. Dench, meanwhile, captures the salt of her surroundings with an astringent wit, while Moore acquits herself with quiet grace—although she, like several of the cast, struggles with the Newfoundland accent.

On location in Trinity Bay, all the actors seem suitably humbled by the rugged landscape, which Hallström captures in the stark hues of bleached film stock. For readers who were irritated by Proulx's ornate writing, it's nice to see Newfoundland play itself on screen, unfiltered. Instead of reading that "the ocean twitched like a vast cloth spread over snakes," we see only... the ocean. Or Pinsent looking out to sea, talking about the weather like a man who knows. **B.D.J**

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Films

whose dramatic acting is as earnest as his comedy is incendiary, seems determined to be the next Jimmy Stewart. And now that the Canadian actor is becoming an American citizen, *The Majestic* could serve as his oath of allegiance.

In the Bedroom, which is at the top of many critics' lists, offers a dire antidote to seasonal schlock. Set on the coast of Maine, it's a small, slow, but utterly absorbing tragedy about a couple coming to terms with their son's murder. Frank (Nick Stahl), a young man working lobster traps before heading off to architecture school, is involved with Natalie (Marisa Tomei), an older woman. After he's murdered by her estranged husband, his parents' marriage starts to unravel: Ruth (Spacek) is paralyzed by anger and grief, while Matt (Tom Wilkinson) quietly absorbs the shock. They finally confront each other, in a scene of heartrending emotion, and a dark agenda begins to emerge.

Making his feature debut, actor Todd Field directs with subtle confidence. Spacek and Wilkinson are both superb, while Stahl and Tomei conjure a *Splendor in the Grass* spell of doomed romance that lingers throughout the film.

No Man's Land, a satire from Bosnia, is one of two foreign films from war zones that have broken through to the front lines of North American distribution. The other is *Kandahar*, the story of a Canadian woman's odyssey among refugees on the Afghan-Iran border. And *No Man's Land*, like *Kandahar*, leavens blunt realism with a haunting sense of the absurd. It is 1993. A Bosnian soldier (Branko Djuric) and his Serb counterpart (Rene Bitorajac) are stranded in a trench between the warring sides. With them is a Croatian soldier lying on a mine that will explode if he moves.

As tension mounts between the two soldiers, UN peacekeepers converge on the scene, which becomes a media circus. Bosnian writer-director Danis Tanovic makes his allegiance clear, but saves his venom for the UN commander, who's hamstrung by a stance of official neutrality. (Tanovic has said he's loosely based on Canada's retired major-general Lewis MacKenzie.) *No Man's Land* is a darkly comic, smartly entertaining portrait of human folly in wartime. It's an escape of sorts, taking us to a world of heightened reality that is no one's idea of a dream. m



Tracy Bennett

THE BIG SCREEN TOP 10

Maclean's critic Brian D. Johnson offers his pick of films released in Canada in 2001

1. **IN THE MOOD FOR LOVE** With a silk weave of image and music, Wong Kar-wai's ode to unrequited love casts a spell like no other. Maggie Cheung mirrors the movie's emotions in a series of dresses that wrap her body like watercolours. Adultery has never looked so elegant.
2. **ALI** Moulding Will Smith into a champion, director Michael Mann nails Muhammad Ali's bold spirit and butterfly rhythms with inspired lyricism. The Hollywood movie of the year.
3. **GHOST WORLD** Terry Zwigoff paints a piece of misanthropic heaven. Thora Birch and Scarlett Johansson star as partners in punk, while Steve Buscemi plays a midlife object of adolescent desire—without a trace of sleaze.
4. **MULHOLLAND DRIVE** Intoxicating. Mystifying. Sexy. Disturbing. This Möbius strip of reality and dream is David Lynch's best film—and the richest slice of L.A. gothic since *Chinatown*. Naomi Watts deserves the Oscar for her shape-shifting portrait of an actress on the make.
5. **MEMENTO** Another head trip. But aside from the reverse-narrative gimmick, Christopher Nolan directs with a ruthless eye to detail. And Guy Pearce is an unforgettable amnesiac.
6. **THE PLEDGE** Sean Penn directs Jack Nicholson's most mature performance as a retired cop obsessed with finding a child's killer.
7. **KANDAHAR** Even with the untutored acting of its Canadian star, Nelofer Pazira, Mohsen Makhmalbaf's Afghan odyssey went behind the burka rainbow, and left an indelible impression.
8. **THE ROYAL TENENBAUMS** Finding another side of Manhattan, Wes Anderson pulls emotional truth from a doll's house of eccentrics.
9. **SEXY BEAST** A volcanic Ben Kingsley gives a new kick to the gangster genre.
10. **THE LORD OF THE RINGS** Oh, why not. It's a blockbuster with passion—Peter Jackson turns dull prose into ripping spectacle.

Honourable mentions: Shrek, Innocence, Before Night Falls, The Man Who Wasn't There, Yi Yi, The Widow of Saint-Pierre

Entertainment Notes

The endless drug war

The United Nations estimates that the global trade in illicit drugs is worth $600 billion yearly, about eight per cent of all international trade. And that, as Richard Davenport-Hines notes in *The Pursuit of Oblivion: A Global History of Narcotics, 1500-2000* (HarperCollins), is after 80 years of escalating anti-drug efforts. Billions have been spent and thousands imprisoned, while the price of cocaine and heroin has fallen by more than half since 1990. Since humans will always seek intoxicants, entrepreneurs will always provide them, argues the British historian in his sobering account of the trade. Prohibition is an idealistic policy that, by ignoring the human desires fuelling drug use—"perfectibility, the yearning for a perfect moment, the peace that comes from oblivion"—only provides vast profits for pushers.



Best-Sellers

	POSITION LAST WEEK
Fiction	
1. CLARA CALLAN, Richard Wright (7)	1
2. THE FIERY CROSS, Diana Gabaldon (6)	4
3. HATESHIP FRIENDSHIP COURTSHIP LOVESHIP MARRIAGE, Alice Munro (12)	2
4. ATONEMENT Ian McEwan (3)	3
5. THE CORRECTIONS, Jonathan Franzen (15)	9
6. RUMPOLE RESTS HIS CASE, John Mortimer (2)	7
7. THE STONE CARVERS, Jane Urquhart (37)	5
8. ACID ROW Minette Walters (1)	
9. RIVER THIEVES, Michael Crummey (7)	6
10. AUSTERLITZ, W.G. Sebald (1)	
Nonfiction	
1. ON EQUILIBRIUM John Ralston Saul (1)	
2. THE MAP THAT CHANGED THE WORLD, Simon Winchester (19)	4
3. THE UNIVERSE IN A NUTSHELL, Stephen Hawking (6)	1
4. WALTER GRETZKY: ON FAMILY, HOCKEY, AND HEALING, Walter Gretzky (5)	7
5. MARCHING AS TO WAR, Pierre Berton (15)	5
6. CANADA: A PEOPLE'S HISTORY Vol. 2, Don Gillmor (6)	2
7. UNCLE TUNGSTEN, Oliver Sacks (6)	3
8. THE MOLSONS, Karen Molson (5)	10
9. THE FRIENDLY DICTATORSHIP Jeffrey Simpson (10)	6
10. OUR LIFE WITH THE ROCKET Linch Canter (3)	9

() Weeks on list

Compiled by Brian Bethune

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Matthew Fisher

The unrealistic country

"I guess Canada's a nice country. I've never thought much about it." In other words, pleasant but insignificant. So said a Cal State Fullerton student I spoke with early in December after a journalism class in Los Angeles. It is something I have heard countless times in reporting from more than 140 countries. Notwithstanding the musings of the chattering classes who maintain that our country is widely admired, Canada has become a phantom in a world that measures respect militarily and economically. As rapidly developing nations with large populations like Brazil and China leapfrog Canada, which has always encouraged them to grow, the situation is bound to get worse. Up to now, Foreign Minister John Manley seems to be one of the few who has caught on to any of this. When discussing Canada's meagre military capabilities recently, he said that Canada must not continue to walk away from the table when the bills become due. Editorial writers and politicians paid little heed and went gung ho when Ottawa announced it would dispatch 1,000 lightly armed Canadians into the inferno that is Afghanistan.

Curiously, Canadians have turned denial of weakness into a virtue. They maintain that Canada continues to be a caring society that engages the world. By and large, the media do little to dispel these delusions. Canadian newspapers now have perhaps a dozen overseas correspondents. Despite the buzz about globalization, immigration and freer trade, the fact is that is half the number there were 10 years ago.

Among the 2,600 or so fruitlessly seeking scoops in Pakistan and Afghanistan this fall and winter, there have been a fair number of Canadians. Unlike most of the Americans, the Europeans and even the Aussies, many of these Canadians have had little previous experience reporting from abroad, let alone from war zones. But then how could it have been otherwise at what is the Super Bowl of journalism? So few Canadians have ever played the game during the regular season.

The Canadian media rarely show up en masse overseas except when a princess dies or when the U.S. military is whacking somebody. You will, of course, remember the Canadian debacle in Somalia in 1993 and the Rwanda saga a year later when a Canadian major-general, Roméo Dallaire, watched helplessly as mobs of gleeful Hutus made brave by banana beer carved up hundreds of thousands of Tutsis. But did you know that Canada's peacemakers were invited to return to Africa last winter to separate Eritrean and Ethiopian fighters on a dusty desert battlefield where, between 1998 and 2000, as many as a quarter of a million people died? And if not, why not?

The tragedies in Somalia and Rwanda received intense media scrutiny in Canada, but only after the Canadian principals returned home. The Canadian media scarcely covered these stories when they actually took place because editors did not think them newsworthy. If they had, the Canadian public might have learned that the later-discredited Canadian Airborne Regiment had also improved the wretched lives of many Somalis and that Dallaire had performed heroically after being left to twist in the wind by his then-boss, Kofi Annan, who later won the Nobel Peace Prize. Similarly, if Canadian newspapers had sent reporters to Africa earlier this year, Canadians would have known that a battalion of infantrymen from New Brunswick had profited from the cruel lessons of Somalia and Rwanda, and that their tour had been a monumental success.

If, if, if. Even when our own citizens make a difference abroad, Canadians are not much interested. So why expect the rest of the world to be? The terror attacks on Sept. 11 have disrupted the global landscape, but again few Canadians have given much serious thought to what this means. Canada is in a pickle because it is a military and economic pygmy with no natural allies other than the U.S. The Canadian government often says it intends to forge closer links with like-minded countries such as the Netherlands. But the Netherlands is part of the European Union and the EU is a closed shop primarily interested in advancing European causes.

> **Even when our own citizens make a difference abroad, Canadians are not much interested**

So, where does Canada stand? It continues to starve the armed forces. Europe, meanwhile, is establishing its own army. Even the German left, after some hand-wringing, has decided that German soldiers can do some heavy lifting. Other challenges loom everywhere for Canada. Mexico has mighty ambitions. Canadians who think George W. Bush's infatuation with that country is just a phase are badly mistaken. Mexico presents the U.S. with fresh opportunities.

If there were a debate about Canada and its position in the world, the nationalists who still dominate the Liberal caucus would line up as mildly anti-American as they always have. Recently, they have taken their cue from former foreign minister Lloyd Axworthy. He always waited to see which direction the U.S. was headed in so that Canada could go the other way. The common experience of Canadians who travel as much as I do is: "You're an American!" I am not. I am a Canadian. I come from a "nice," thoroughly unrealistic country.

Matthew Fisher has covered 14 wars, including Somalia, Rwanda, Eritrea and the current conflict in South Asia. He lives in Russia.




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